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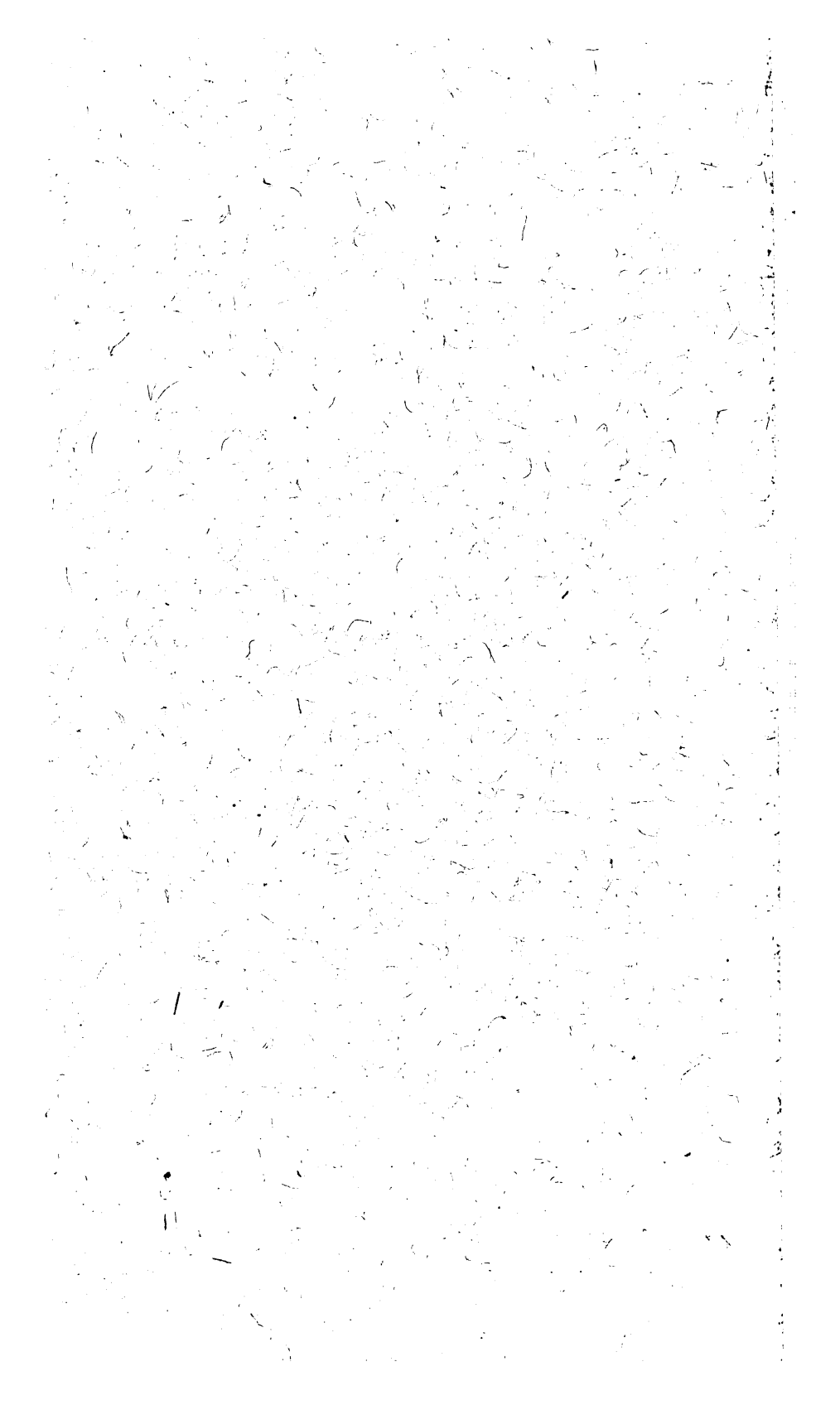

THE

WORKS

OF

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE,

BART.

COMPLETE.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THE AUTHOR,

CONSIDERABLY ENLARGED.

A NEW EDITION.

VOL. IV.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR F. C. AND J. RIVINGTON; F. WINGRAVE; R. LEA; LONGMAN AND CO.; WHITE, COCHRANE, AND CO.; S. BAGSTER; J. MAWMAN; J. FAULDER; J. BOOKER; CLARKE AND SONS; J. HATCHARD; R. BALDWIN; AND CRADOCK AND JOY.

Printed by S. Hamilton, Weybridge.

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THE

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THE following Papers are the last of this, or indeed of any kind, about which the author ever gave me his particular commands. They were corrected by himself, and fairly transcribed in his life-time. I have in all things followed his directions as strictly as I could: but accidents unforeseen having since intervened, I have thought convenient to lessen the bulk of this volume. To which end I have omitted several letters addressed to persons with whom this author corresponded without any particular confidence farther, than upon account of their posts; because great numbers of such letters, procured out of the office, or by other means (how justifiable I shall not examine), have been already printed; but running wholly upon long dry subjects of business, have met no other reputation than merely what the reputation of the author would give them. If I could have foreseen an end of this trade, I should, upon some considerations, have longer forborne sending these into the world. But I daily hear, that new discoveries of *Original Letters* are hasting to the press: to stop the current of which, I

am forced to an earlier publication than I designed. And therefore I take this occasion to inform the reader, that these Letters, ending with the author's revocation from his employments abroad (which in less than two years was followed by his retirement from all public business), are the last he ever intended for the press; having been selected by himself from great numbers yet lying among his papers.

If I could have been prevailed with by the rhetoric of booksellers, or any other little regards, I might easily, instead of retrenching, have made very considerable additions; and by that means have perhaps taken the surest course to prevent the interloping of others. But if the press must needs be loaded, I had rather it should not be by my means. And therefore I may hope to be allowed one word in the style of a publisher, (an office liable to much censure, without the least pretension to merit or to praise,) that, if I have not been much deceived by others and myself, the reader will hardly find one Letter in this collection unworthy of the author, or which does not contain something either of entertainment or of use.

LETTERS

TO

THE KING, THE PRINCE OF ORANGE, &c.

To the Duke of Florence.

Sheen, Nov. ——
Sir, 1672.

AS I ought at all times, and in every manner possible, to shew the sense I have of the honour done me by your most Serene Highness, in the repeated instances of your goodness to me, and the many expressions of your kind remembrance of me; and as it is not long since my Lord Stafford shewed me a letter of your Highness's writing, in as proper English as if your Highness had been more years than you were weeks in England, I resolved to send to your Highness the inclosed papers, which are part of the fruits of that leisure and retirement, which I have lately enjoyed in the country. They contain the three last chapters of the remarks I have made upon the present state of Holland; the first thoughts of which undertaking I was inspired with by the example of

Au Duc de Florence.

De Sheen, Novemb. ——
Monsieur, 1672.

Comme je dois toujours, & en toutes manieres, reconnoitre l' honneur que Votre Altesse Sme. m'a fait par tant de temoignages de sa bonté & de son souvenir; & qu'il n'y a pas longtems que Milord Stafford m'a montré une lettre de V. A. écrite aussi bien en Anglois comme si Elle eût sejourné plus d'années en Angleterre, qu' Elle n'en a fait de semaines; j'ay resolu d'envoyer à V. A. ces papiers envelopés, comme une partie des fruits que j'ay cueillis dans l'oisiveté de nos champs. Ce sont les trois derniers chapitres des remarques que j'ay tracés sur l'état de la Hollande, dont la pensée m'a été premierement inspirée par l'exemple de V. A. ayant admiré l'application & curiosité judicieuse qu'elle a employé sur ce sujet, durant le cours des voyages qu' Elle y a faites sur un dessein si genereux que l'accroissement de ces belles

your Highness; having with admiration observed the great application you used, and the judicious curiosity you shewed on this subject during the course of those voyages and journeys you made with a most generous purpose, thereby to advance and promote real knowledge, and not to make a show of your own magnificence and state. I make no doubt but your Highness has it in your intentions to make the speculations of strangers abroad part of your own diversion at home, and to turn them to the profit of your own country: since great part of Tuscany is so advantageously situated for the carrying on commerce in the amplest manner. Nor did I think it would be disagreeable to lay before you, in a clearer view, those occasions and conjunctures which conspired together to ruin and overthrow, as it were, at one stroke, that republic which your Highness so lately saw in so great and flourishing a condition, and under the conduct of so wise a Ministry. It was on this account that I have chosen to send your Highness these chapters, concerning their commerce, their strength, and the causes of their late misfortune: and if I continue my intention of publishing the treatise entire, I shall not fail to present to your Highness the first copy that comes from the press; being ever ready to give all possible marks of that devotion which I always pay to your person and high endowments, and to omit no proof of that zeal, which I

connoissances, & non pas l'ostentation de sa grandeur. Je n'ay pas douté que V. A. n'ait eu l' intention d' exercer chez elle les speculations faites chez les étrangers, considerant l'assiette d'une partie de la Toscane si propre pour l'établissement du plus grand commerce. Et j'ay crû que vous seriez content de considerer à plus près les occasions & conjonctures qui ont conspiré à accabler, quasi d'un coup, cette republique, que V. A. a vue depuis peu si grande & si fleurissante, & animée par un si sage ministere. C'est pourquoy j'ay chosi à luy envoyer ces chapitres touchant leur commerce, leurs forces, & les causes de leur dernier malheur: & si je me resoudray un jour à mettre en lumiere le discours entier, je ne manqueray pas à presenter à V. A. le premier qui en sortira, comme à luy donner toutes les marques possibles de la devotion, que j'ay toujours eu pour sa personne, & ses grandes qualités, comme du zèle que je porteray toujours à son service. V. A fera reflexion, que les fruits de ce mechant climat n'approchent pas ceux d'Italie, & ne les doit considerer que par la nouveauté, comme quelqu'une de nos pommes parmi les figues & raisins de la Florence. Et V. A. pardonnera la liberté que je prens sur cette occasion de cultiver la part qu' Elle m'a donné en son souvenir, & de renouveller les professions que j'ay faites si souvent d'une passion veritable avec laquelle je suis, de V. A. Sme. le très humble & très obéissant serviteur.

shall ever have for your service. Your Highness will reflect, that the fruits of our poor climate can never come near those of Italy, and are therefore only to be received for their novelty, as our apples are served up among the figs and raisins of Florence: and your Highness will pardon the liberty I take upon this occasion, to cultivate and enlarge that part which your Highness has the goodness to give me in your remembrance, and to renew those professions, which I have so often made, of that most real passion with which I am, your most Serene Highness's most humble and most obedient servant.

To the Duke of Florence.

Dublin, May 20,
Sir, N. S. 1673.

The letter of the 15th of February, which your most Serene Highness did me the honour to write, found me in Ireland, whither the necessary care of my family affairs had carried me, and obliged me to continue for three months. The matters to be settled before I made this voyage took up so much time, that I have but just compassed it; and this has brought upon me a necessity of returning my most humble thanks much later than I could wish; but yet with all due esteem and devotion. Your Highness does me the justice to regard me as one entirely belonging to you; and in this view it is, that your Highness's judgment concerning my papers has shewn itself al-

Au Duc de Florence.

Dublin, May 20,
Monsieur, S. N. 1673.

L'honneur que V. A. Sme. m'a fait par sa lettre du 15me. de Fevrier, m'a trouvé en Yrlande, où quelques affaires domestiques m'ont attiré pour trois mois de sejour. Les detours necessaires à ce voyage l'ont tellement retardé, que j'en suis depuis peu seulement en possession, & me trouve par là dans la necessité de rendre à V. A. mes très humbles reconnoissances plus tard que je n'aurois souhaité, encore qu'avec toute l'estime & devotion que je dois. Je voy bien que V. A. me fait la justice de me regarder comme une chose qui lui appartient entierement, & que par là Elle s'est rendue tout à fait partiale au jugement qu'Elle a fait de mes papiers. Mais je ne veux pas me defendre, & de là V. A.

together partial to them: however, I will not presume to gainsay it, and thereby your Highness will have a fresh assurance, that, like your will and pleasure, your judgment is with me incontestable. When your Highness signifies, that the reading my writings gave you any the least satisfaction, it gives me the greatest opinion of my own glory; and while I possess the letter you have honoured me with on this occasion, I have the greatest sense of my own riches. Methinks, I have just made a voyage to the Indies, and have purchased gold and precious stones for toys and trifles. Even in the dark and dull climate I am now in, I have light enough to discover most clearly, that every line of your Highness has a far greater lustre, than the most excellent compositions that such a country as yours can produce; and appears like a touch from the hand of Raphael, infinitely superior to the confused designs of our English painters. I did intend to send your Highness the book entire, of which you have seen a small part with so much indulgence; but the bookseller at London being in such haste, as to publish it in my absence, I found so many faults in the print, that I was ashamed even to own it for mine, and therefore omitted sending to your Highness the first copy, which I stood obliged to do both by promise and duty. But by the good luck of the bookseller, and through the humour of the present times, which at present are mighty

se pourra bien assurer que son jugement sera toujours pour moy incontestable, aussi bien que sa volonté. Je me sens trop glorieux de ce que V. A. temoigne avoir trouvé la moindre satisfaction en cette lecture, & trop riche par la lettre dont elle m'a honoré sur cette occasion. Il me semble avoir fait un voyage des Indes, & recueilli de l'or & des pierreries en retour de la plus chetive marchandise; & j'ay assez de lumiere en ce climat le plus obscur, pour m'appercevoir clairement que chaque ligne de V. A. ait bien autre éclat que les plus belles compositions qu'un païs comme le nôtre pourra jamais produire, & paroît comme un rayon de la main de Raphael, au regard des pièces brouillées de nos peintres Anglois. J'avois pourtant l'intention d'envoyer à V. A. la pièce entiere, dont elle a veu seulement les pieds avec tant d'indulgence; mais la precipitation d'un libraire l'ayant fait sortir à Londres en mon absence, j'ay trouvé qu'il y avoit tant de fautes de l'impression, que j'avois honte de l'avoüer pour mien, & me contentois par là de n'avoir pas mandé à V. A. le premier, selon mon devoir aussi bien que ma promesse. Mais par le bonheur du dit libraire, & l'humeur du tems curieux à present sur le sujet de la Hollande, il s'est trouvé au bout de la premiere impression dans si peu de tems, qu'il va deja achever une seconde, à la correction de laquelle j'ay donné la main, & encore que je me trouve sur mon retour pour l'Angleterre, je n'ay pas voulu manquer à luy envoyer un ordre

inquisitive after any thing that relates to Holland, the first impression has had so quick a sale, that a second is now printing, and almost finished. I have myself taken care of the correcting of this edition; and, though I am upon my return to England, yet I have sent to my bookseller an express order by this post to deliver into Monsieur Tiviessi's hands the two first copies to be sent to your most Serene Highness. Had I a capacity to do it, I would have translated it into Italian, and have begged leave to dedicate it to your Highness; the honour of so great a name being the only means to protect so mean and weak a discourse. But as it was owing to the favour only which your Highness has the goodness to shew to the English tongue, that I presumed to send you the pattern at first of this discourse; I send you the rest of it likewise, in the mean and ordinary dress of its own country, rather than adorned with the rich habit of a foreign one, which would ill become the simplicity of its birth, as well as the meanness of its condition. What remains but to entreat your Highness to receive it as the proper effect of your own commands, as well as a testimony of that particular zeal and passion, with which I am, and shall be all my life, your most Serene Highness's most humble, &c.

exprès par ce courier de mettre en main de Monsieur Tiviessi les deux premiers exemplaires pour être envoyés à V. A. Sme. Si j'en étois capable, je l'aurois traduit en Italien, & supplie V. A. d'honorer la dedication par un si grand nom, comme le seul moyen de proteger un si foible sujet. Mais comme la seule faveur que V. A. temoigne pour la langue Angloise, m'a donné la hardiesse à luy envoyer le premier échantillon, je fais partir aussi le reste plûtôt dans le pauvre habit de son païs que paré d'un plus riche des païs étrangers; ce que seroit mal assorti à la simplicité de sa naissance, aussi bien que de sa condition. Au reste, V. A. recevra s'il luy plait comme l'effet de son propre commandement, aussi bien que comme un temoignage de la devotion toute particuliere & passionnée avec laquelle je seray toute ma vie, De V. A. Sme. le très humble, &c.

To the Prince of Orange.

Sir, Sheen, February —, 1673-4.

THOUGH the honour I expected of attending your Highness, upon so great and happy a conjuncture, has not fallen me; and his Majesty's late resolutions, for my sudden journey into Holland, have been diverted by occasions that made way for a more speedy conclusion of the peace; yet I could not be satisfied, without making use of Sir Gabriel Sylvius's favour to me, in charging himself with this trouble; by which I might at the same time give your Highness the particular account of all that has passed in this late transaction here, and withal rejoice with you upon the happy successes that have attended your affairs on the other side; in which I will assure your Highness, both his Majesty and all his good subjects have taken such a share, as has very much contributed to the easy and sudden dispatch of this great affair; wherein both your Highness and the States, and indeed the happiness and safety of both nations, are so nearly concerned. For my own part, I will only say, that as no man gave so public and so avowed testimonies of the devotion and honour I have always had at heart for your Highness's person and service, and of the esteem that, I knew, was from all men due to you in the greatest decline of your fortune; so, at this time, when your Highness will receive the general compliments and applauses of all men, there is none among them, that can take a more particular part in your Highness's good fortunes, nor make more passionate wishes for their continuance and increase. But I know your Highness does me so much justice, as to believe all that can be said from me of this kind, unnecessary. Therefore, I

shall proceed to tell your Highness, that upon receipt of the States last letter, with desire of passports for their Ambassadors, and offers of a cessation of arms, his Majesty was pleased, upon the 3d current, being Tuesday morning, to declare at the committee of foreign affairs, that having thought of it in the night, he was resolved, for preventing all delays that attend the coming of Ambassadors hither, to send over into Holland; and that he would send me with the project of a treaty, and full powers to conclude immediately, if the States were in the mind they expressed of doing him justice. This was received with so great a concurrence, that I was immediately sent for, acquainted with his Majesty's intentions, and commanded to be ready to begin my journey the next day, and to attend upon the two Secretaries of State that afternoon, at the drawing both the project, and my instructions. I told the King, I would obey him; but that I might the better do it, I begged of him that I might go without any character of Ambassador; which would delay me with the preparations of equipage here, and embarrass me with ceremonies there, unnecessary for so sudden a dispatch. His Majesty thought it reasonable, and so gave order I should go without any other character, than of Plenipotentiary; but gave me the appointment of all kinds of an Ambassador, which, he told me, I must take upon me when the peace was concluded.

The project and instructions could not be finished till Wednesday at evening, nor the commission sealed till Thursday at noon, which was designed for my setting out; and in order to it, I had kissed the King's and Duke's hands late on Wednesday night, and received their letters to your Highness, and sent away my servants towards Harwich on Thursday morning. But about ten o'clock the

same day arrived the pacquet, by a trumpeter from Holland, which brought full powers to the Spanish Ambassador to treat and conclude the peace: upon the knowledge whereof, I went immediately to the King, and told him, how inconvenient it would be to expose the treaty to the accidents of a journey, of seas, and of weather, when it might be finished here, perhaps before I could be at Harwich: besides, that it would be more honour for his Majesty to treat it here than at the Hague, which was an expedient only for dispatch, and therefore begged of his Majesty, that no consideration of me might divert him from falling into the business here, at least till he saw it could not be effected. The King was pleased with what I said, sent me immediately to the Spanish Ambassador, to bring an account of his powers, and has done me the honour to make me treat the whole thing with his Excellency in all its points, so as to leave occasion only for the Commissioners to meet once on Saturday, to agree upon drawing up the treaty; and yesterday again at four o'clock for signing it. But after all this was agreed, and before that hour was come, I was forced by an accident in town to come down into the country for two or three days, and so have the mortification of not seeing Sir Gabriel Sylvius before his going away with the ratifications, which I left the King resolved he should do this night.

It is not fit to entertain your Highness farther from the country; but I hope, upon my return to town, to have his Majesty's leave to send your Highness, by next post, the letters he was pleased to encharge me with; as likewise that from the Duke, with very particular expressions from them both, which, I suppose, you will not be willing to lose, though you may receive of a later date. In the mean time, I beg your Highness to believe,

that upon all occasions I shall be infinitely proud and pleased to give you the best testimonies of the sincerest and devotest passion, wherewith I have been so long, and shall ever be, Sir, your Highness's, &c.

To the Duke of Florence.

London, February 11, 1673-4.

Sir,

DURING my retirement into the country it was not possible for me to find any pretence for a letter; so that I have not for some time been able to make use of that liberty which your most Serene Highness has had the goodness to allow me of writing; but since my return to town, having within these few days met with an affair of great importance, the particulars of which I thought your Highness would be pleased to know, I would not lose any one of those few opportunities that I have, of giving proof of the passion which I have had so long, to discharge faithfully that duty that I lie under, to do every thing that may be any ways for your Highness's service or entertainment.

On Monday the 2d of this instant, the King received certain news of the resolution taken by the States General to make the office and dignity of the Prince of Orange hereditary; and with this account, a letter from the States, desiring passports for their Ambassadors, and an offer to agree to a suspension of arms. About the same time, the two Houses of Parliament had formally given the King their advice to

Au Duc de Florence.

Londres, Fevr. 11, 1673-4.

Monsieur,

N'ayant rien trouvé dans la solitude des champs pour me fournir de pretexte, je n'ay pas aussi, depuis peu pris la liberté que V. A. Sme. m'a autrefois donnée de l'entretenir; mais ayant ces jours passés rencontré en ville une grande conjoncture, & dont j'ay crû que V. A. seroit contente de savoir le detail, je n'ay pas voulu perdre une occasion qui se presente si peu souvent, pour faire valoir à V. A. la passion que j'ay eu si long tems à me bien acquitter de toutes sortes de devoirs qui luy pourroient être ou de service ou d'entretien.

Lundi 2 de ce mois, le Roy reçeut d'Hollande les nouvelles assurées de la resolution prise par les Etats, de rendre hereditaire la charge & dignité du Prince d'Orange, & une lettre de la part des Etats avec la demande des passeports pour leurs Ambassadeurs, & l'offre d'une suspension d'armes. Environ le même tems, les deux Maisons du Parlement avoient donné au Roy leurs avis formels de faire la paix au plûtôt, & d'en-

make peace as soon as possible, and to enter upon a treaty upon the foot of those propositions offered by the Ambassador of Spain, which his Majesty had communicated to them, when he asked their advice. On Tuesday the 3d in the morning, the King declared in council, that having the night before considered of the importance of the present conjuncture, he had resolved to avoid all delays, by sending an Ambassador to Holland, and that he had pitched upon myself for that purpose. This resolution of the King's meeting with the approbation of the whole council, I had notice of it, and directions given me to promote the project, and act in pursuance of his Majesty's design, which was to conclude the peace, and sign it at the Hague. Thursday the 5th, about noon, was the time appointed for my departure. I waited for my dispatches, but sent my attendants before, resolving to follow them post to Harwich (there being no going down the river, because the wind was contrary). I had received the money for my equipage, and his Majesty's letters, and had kissed the King's and the Duke's hand, when about ten of the clock in the morning on the same Thursday a trumpeter arrived from Holland, bringing full and entire powers to the Ambassador of Spain, to treat here of a peace and bring it to a conclusion if it could be done. I immediately waited upon his Majesty with this news, and begged of him to lay aside

trer en traité sur les propositions offertes par l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, lesquelles sa Majesté leur avoit mise en main quand il demanda leur avis. Mardi 3me. au matin, le Roy declara au conseil secret, qu'ayant songé la nuit à l'importance de cette conjoncture, il avoit resolu pour éviter les retardemens, d'envoyer en Hollande; & me nomma pour cette ambassade. La chose ayant rencontré la concurrence entiere de tous ceux du conseil, on me manda aussitôt, & me donna part de la resolution, & ordre d'assister à la digestion du projet, sur laquelle sa Majesté seroit contente que la paix se fit, & se signât à la Haye. Jeudy 5me. à midy étoit le tems pris pour mon departement; & en attendant mes depêches j'avois fait partir mes gens pour les suivre en poste à Harwich (le vent étant contraire à la sortie de la riviere). J'avois reçeu l'argent de mon équipage, & les lettres de sa Majesté, & baisé la main au Roy & au Duc; quand sur les dix heures du matin dudit Jeudy, arriva un trompette d'Hollande, portant à l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne les pleins & entiers pouvoirs à traiter & conclurre la paix icy s'il en powoit convenir. Je m'en allois aussitôt au Roy pour luy porter la nouvelle, le suppliant de n'avoir aucune consideration de moy en cette affaire, & de n'exposer un traité si important aux accidens du tems & des voyages, quand il le pourroit peut-être achever icy devant que je serois à Harwich, & même avec plus d'honneur à Londres qu'à la Haye. Sa Ma-

all regard to me, and not expose a treaty of such importance to the accidents of time and voyages, when it might perhaps be finished here, before I should get even to Harwich, and when the doing it here at London would be more for his Majesty's honour, than at the Hague. His Majesty received me very graciously, and was pleased to send me forthwith to the Ambassador of Spain, to see his powers, and discover, as far as I could, his instructions, to form a judgment, whether the peace could be now concluded. I have laid before his Majesty my opinion concerning the validity of his powers, and the likelihood I found there was of bringing this affair to a conclusion here. Hereupon his Majesty ordered me to treat with the Ambassador; which I have done point by point; and we have brought matters so well to bear, that Commissioners appointed by his Majesty and the Ambassador have signed the treaty the Monday following. On Wednesday Monsieur Sylvius (who was to have accompanied me to wait on the Prince of Orange, and congratulate him on his accession to the hereditary dignity) went away with those compliments of congratulation, and carried with him the ratification of the treaty; so that we expect the ratification back again in two or three days, signed by the States, after which the peace will be proclaimed; which, I beg leave to assure your Highness, will be both honourable and advantageous to his Majesty. The af-

jesté le prit en bonne part, & m' envoya aussitôt à l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne pour voir ses pouvoirs, & le sonder tant que je pourrois sur ses instructions, afin de juger s'il y avoit apparence de conclurre icy. J'ay rapporté au Roy mes sentimens sur la validité des pouvoirs, & l'apparence que j'ay trouvé d'achever l'affaire. Sur cela sa Majesté m'a chargé de la traiter avec l'Ambassadeur, ce que j'ay fait de point en point, & nous en sommes si bien demêlés que les Commissaires de sa Majesté & l'Ambassadeur ont signé le traité le Lundi suivant. Mecredi Monsieur Sylvius (qui me devoit avoir accompagné pour rejoüir avec le Prince d'Orange de la part de sa Majesté sur son avenement à la dignité hereditaire) partit avec les dits complimens, & la ratification du traité; de sorte que nous attendons en deux ou trois jours que la ratification viendra de la part des Etats, & que là dessus la paix sera publiée; laquelle je pourrois assurer V. A., être faite honorable & avantageuse pour sa Majesté. L'affaire du pavillon & de Surinam luy est tout accordé entierement à sa satisfaction. Aussi il y a tant plus apparence de la durée, que la Reine d'Espagne ne soit non seulement constituée dans la garantie de la paix, mais aussi dans l'arbitrage des differens qui pourroient succeder sur une commission qui se doit faire en trois mois de tems pour decider quelques points sur la matiere de commerce aux Indes & de la marine.

fair of the flag and Surinam is adjusted entirely to his Majesty's satisfaction. There is so much the more likelihood of the continuance of this peace, because the Queen of Spain is not only guarantee of it, but also is appointed arbitrator of those differences which may happen among the Commissioners which are to be appointed within three months to determine all points concerning commerce to the Indies, and the maritime affairs.

I thought that notice of an affair of this great weight and consequence to all Christendom, and of the several steps taken therein, would not be disagreeable to your Highness, which made me encharge myself with the giving it you; entreating your Highness, by those small services, to judge in what manner, and with what satisfaction, I should most willingly acquit myself in matters of greater concern, if fortune should ever be so much my friend as to put it in my power; for no one can be with more justice, or more passion, than myself, your most Serene Highness's most humble, &c.

J'ay crû que la notice & les mouvemens d'une affaire si grande & si importante à toute la Chrêtienté, ne seroient pas desagréables à V. A. c'est pourquoy j'ay voulu m'en charger; la suppliant de juger par ces petits services de quelle maniere & avec quelle satisfaction je m'acquiterois volontiers de plus grands, si la fortune me seroit jamais si favorable que de m'en faire naître les occasions: car personne ne peut être avec plus de justice ni avec plus de passion que moy, Monsieur, de V. A. Sme. &c.

To Monsieur Gourville.

London, Feb. 12,
Sir, N. S. 1673-4.

I NEVER entered into an acquaintance with more pleasure, nor left off one with more regret, than yours. I flatter myself, that the beginning of it arose from that similitude of humours and opinions that is

A Monsieur Gourville.

Londres, Fevr. 12,
Monsieur, S. N. 1673-4.

Je n'ay fait aucune connoissance avec plus de plaisir, ni perdu aucun commerce avec plus de regret que le vôtre. Je me flatte tant que d'attribuer le premier à quelque resemblance d'humeurs & d'opinions, et le dernier au

in us; as the interruption of it was owing to those unhappy circumstances, which have so long kept us asunder. I am not willing to think myself, however, either so old, or so unfortunate, as to be without hope of enjoying, once more in my life, your good company, which I rather wish might be in France than in any other place. While I live in the expectation of this pleasure, I have given my son an advantage which I am not so happy as to have myself: he will, at the same time, give you an assurance of my ready services, and make you an offer of his own; that so the entire possession you have of me may, as it were, become an inheritance. If you have any commands either for the father or son, I entreat you to lay them upon us with the same freedom you ever did, during our long and strict friendship in Flanders; and if he stands in need of your protection, I assure myself, that you never will refuse it him; there being no one in the world with more esteem and passion than myself, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant, &c.

seul malheur des conjonctures qui nous ont éloignés depuis si longtems. Je ne me veux pas croire encore si vieux ni si malheureux que de ne vous voir pas encore un jour de ma vie, et j'aimerois mieux qu'il fût en France qu'en tout autre lieu. Mais en attendant j'ay voulu donner à mon fils un avantage que je ne puis pas avoir moy-même: il vous assurera en même tems de mes services et vous fera l'offre des siens; à fin que la possession que vous avez acquise si entierement de moy, vous puisse passer en heritage. Si vous avez quelques commandemens pour le pere ou le fils, je vous supplie de nous en charger avec la franchise de nôtre amitié de Flandres; et s'il aura besoin de vôtre protection, je sçay que vous ne la luy refuserez point, puis qu'il n'y a personne qui peut être avec plus de passion ni plus d'estime que moy, Monsieur, votre très humble & très obéïssant serviteur.

To Sir John Temple.

Sir, London, February 17, 1673-4.

I DID not think, a fortnight ago, that you would hear from me, at this time, from this place, having been unexpectedly designed another way, which you have had some account of from my sister, but it is fit you receive a more particular one from me, upon an occasion, which I know you will not be dis-

pleased with, both as to what concerns the public, and myself. You will easily imagine the necessities, that prevailed with the King and his Ministers to fall into the counsels of making a sudden peace with Holland. So soon as this resolution was taken privately among them, my Lord Arlington sent for me, and told me of it; and that, at the same time, the King and my Lord Treasurer, both together, at the foreign committee (so as he could not say which of them named me first), proposed my being sent over, upon this occasion; and the King added, that there was no man else to be thought of; and so had commanded him to send for me, and acquaint me with it. I told him, I should obey his Majesty, as became me, and much the rather, upon a point by which I thought he fell into his true interest, wherein my opinions were but too well known. After this, I went to the King, and said the same things; and what else I esteemed proper upon that occasion; and that I would serve him as well as I could, though I doubted I was grown a little rusty by lying still so long; and began to shrink at a hard journey, in such a cruel season, after having given myself all the ease I could, for three years at home. The King smiled, and said, he would answer for me. I told him, that would give me confidence; but there was another point, I desired to govern myself; which was, that my Lord Arlington having told me I was to go Ambassador, I had no mind to charge myself with that character, upon so sudden a journey, and an affair that ought to be sudden too. That the greatest piece of service I had ever done him, in all my employments abroad, which was that of the triple alliance, I had treated and concluded in five days, and with the character of Envoy; and I was confident, I could never have done it, if I had been Ambassador: that the ceremonies of it hindered the business where it pressed. That having

been twice Ambassador, I needed not to value myself upon this occasion, especially in Holland, where I was well enough known: and therefore I desired I might go with the character of Envoy-extraordinary, and for this particular affair only of the peace. That when this was made, his Majesty might send what person, and what character, he pleased, over to reside there, and go on with the measures he should have taken.

The King seemed very much to approve what I said; and told me, that of Ambassador was only thought of because I had been Ambassador before, and they thought I would not be content to go without it; but he saw I was a wiser man, and I should not lose by it; for, though I went without the character, yet I should have the pay, of an Ambassador; and if I should stay in Holland after the peace was made, I should then have the character. Hereupon, in two days time, my instructions were drawn up, my small equipage prepared, and my servants sent before to Harwich, where I intended to follow post the day after: but I would not suffer either my wife or sister to engage in so hasty a journey, and at so ill a time of the year; though they were neither of them willing to let me go away alone, out of care of my health, which I promised to take myself, and deserve their good opinion in it.

The very day I was to go, came in an express from Holland, with full powers from the States to the Marquis of Fresno (the Spanish Ambassador here) to treat and conclude the peace. My Lord Arlington immediately acquainted me with it, and desired I would go to the King, who was then at the House of Lords, and tell him this new incident, and know his pleasure upon it, his Lordship seeming a little in pain at my part in it. But I told him, I thought the business had this way a better turn than they themselves had given it: that it would not only

be dispatched here with less time, but with more honour to his Majesty, than at the Hague: that, for my part, I was so far from being disappointed, that I was very glad of it, that I confess I wished the thing; but so it were done, was not fond of having any part in it; and therefore was of opinion, they should presently fall in treaty with the Marquis, and so I would go and tell the King.

I will not tell you how pleased my Lord Arlington was with this answer, nor how obliging things he said to me upon it; but I was sorry he knew me so ill, as not to expect it, the thing being so right. I went to the King, said the same to him, which found the same reception; and he told me, though I did not treat it at the Hague, yet he was sure I should treat it here; and accordingly he sent for the Marquis that afternoon, and told him, he would send me to him that evening, to fall into the treaty; and that, if he could agree with me, he should reckon upon the thing as done.

I had my orders, went to the Marquis, and we concluded all points in three days, though there was one of some difficulty: the instruments were dispatched with the same diligence, and signed by the Marquis and the King's Commissioners. And so that great affair ended, to the infinite satisfaction of all people here, as I doubt not it will be in Spain and Holland, and give a great turn to the conjunctures abroad.

Some days after this conclusion, my Lord Arlington told me, the King thought fit to recal Sir William Godolphin out of Spain, upon several considerations, but chiefly upon reports that had run of his religion, which would not be very pleasing in the Parliament, with whom the King was resolved to live well; and therefore had ordered him to make me the offer of going into Spain. That having been Ambassador in ordinary so long ago, the King

thought it was but reason I should make some advance, and so would have me go Ambassador-extraordinary; which, to that Crown, was the employment of most dignity, and most advantage of any other abroad.

I desired his Lordship to make his Majesty my most humble acknowledgments for so many such unsought-for honours, which were beyond what I could deserve. But that the thing was new; and that I had learnt, by a Spanish proverb, not to make a sudden answer to a sudden question. That, besides, the journey was long, and you formerly had an aversion to my undertaking it; that I could not do it now without first consulting you, whom I would not disobey. That I therefore desired his Lordship to excuse my answering the King till I had written, and had an answer from you.

This is all I have to say, but that I leave it with you, to consult if you please, with my brother, and send your resolution as soon as you can. I find my wife inclined to it, both upon respects of advantages to my fortune and my health, which she thinks suffered much in Holland. My sister, though the better Spaniard, has no great mind to it. For my own part, I am pretty indifferent; I like the climate, but you know I never cared for a remove, being ever apt to like the place and condition I am in; and if I have a mind to mend it, I believe I cannot want occasions, upon this great revolution, and the return of our councils to the point where I left them three or four years ago.

I shall give you no farther trouble at this time, but expect your answer, and remain ever, Sir, your, &c.

To the Prince of Orange.

Sir, London, February 28, 1673-4.

I THOUGHT your Highness would not be displeased with receiving those marks of kindness from his Majesty and the Duke, which they intended you by me, though you have, I know, received others of a fresher date. Therefore, by leave from them both, I send you inclosed the letters I had the honour to be charged with when I kissed their hands upon my intended journey into Holland. The compliments I was commanded to carry your Highness from their mouths (besides what went from their hands), were, I will assure you, very particular, especially those from his Majesty; to tell you how great an inducement to the peace your Highness's advancement to the hereditary dignity had been, and with how much more confidence he could now fall into good measures with Holland, than before. And those from the Duke, when at the end of a great deal spoken very kindly, he bid me assure you, that he looked upon your Highness's interests as the same with the King's and his own; and that if there were any thing wherein you could use his service, you might be sure of it. I replied, 'Pray, Sir, remember, there is nothing you except, and you do not know how far a young Prince's desire may go; but I am resolved to tell him what you say, and if there be occasion, to be a witness of it.' The Duke smiled, 'Well, well, you may tell him what I bid you:' upon which I said, 'At least I will tell the Prince, that you smiled when I told you so, which I am sure is a great deal better than if you had frowned.' I know your Highness will easily pardon me for entertaining you with these circumstances; but I will say no more of this kind unless you give me encouragement; nor of any other, to increase your trouble at this time, unless

it be, that if in any thing, either small or great, your Highness can find my services useful to you here, you will ever find them at your devotion, in a manner very particular; and that no man alive can be with more passion, or more truth, Sir, your Highness's most obedient and most humble servant.

To Sir John Temple.

Sir, London, March 27, 1674.

Upon your expression of so much dislike to my journey into Spain, I acquainted the King with it; and gave that for the only reason of my excusing myself from it. I made his Majesty, at the same time, the greatest acknowledgments I could, for the honour he had done me by the offer of it; and assured him, how glad I should be to deserve so good an opinion, as he had pleased to express, in thinking me worthy of an employment, which, for my own part, I esteemed one of the best he had to give. The King was pleased to reply very graciously, that he thought so too, but yet he intended me a better; that he had been long engaged in the remove at present designed, but that upon the next, he was resolved I should have it. He was pleased to say no more, but walked away; and I seemed to take no notice of what he meant. But the day after, I told all that had passed to my Lord Arlington: he seemed a good deal surprised at my refusing the Spanish embassy, and said, he believed the King had few subjects that would not be glad of it: that he had so little expected it, that he had told the Marquis of Fresno of the King's resolution in it; that, for his own part, unless I was sure of his secretary's place, he should not yet advise me to refuse the other.

This was said with a face, and in a way, something graver than his has been of late towards me;

and, I confess, surprised me more than he pretended I had done him. I told him, that I did not at all know what he meant by saying, if I were not sure of his secretary's place: that it was a thing I never had once in my thoughts, but when he had put it there, a great while ago, upon the resolution of Sir John Trevor's coming into the other: that my circumstances had been since much changed; and he knew I had thought of nothing, but my garden and a private life, for these three or four years past, till the King sent for me upon this peace with Holland: that he knew what had passed since, and he knew all, for I was no man of mystery nor intrigue; that I went abroad when the King called me, and I liked my errand; and when these did not happen, I stayed at home. But I was still desirous to know what gave him occasion of saying that to me; for what the King had said could not be interpreted to mean any such thing.

He told me, that he knew I was related to my Lord Treasurer, and heard I was much in his favour; that he was now the great man, and could do what he pleased, and thought he might do this among other things; and could not imagine I would refuse the Spanish embassy unless my Lord Treasurer and I had agreed upon the other. I found where this matter pinched, and said, smiling, that he was never more mistaken in his life; that it was true, my wife was related to my Lord Treasurer; and that we were great companions when we were both together young travellers and tennis-players in France; but that for near twenty years past we had not at all fallen in one another's way, till upon what had passed since the late councils, about a peace with Holland, in which our opinions seemed to agree: that, since, we had met sometimes, but not often, nor in any confidences: that I knew he was a great man, but could not tell yet,

to what points of the compass he intended to steer: that I left him, as I did every body else, to take his own measures; and for mine, he knew very well how little I troubled my friends about them.

Upon this he began with another countenance, than in the beginning of this conversation, to tell me, that he easily believed all I told him; that he was so far from disliking my being well with my Lord Treasurer, how ill soever he was with him, that he advised me, as a friend, to be as well with him as I could: that he confessed he thought I might have entered with him into a concert of getting into his place, instead of Sir Joseph Williamson, which would have been no injury to him; for he knew I would not think of it, but upon the same terms as the other: that since we were fallen into this discourse, he would go farther with me, and tell me, it was true he had a good while had a mind to leave the toil of his place, and, perhaps, the envy; and so had agreed with Sir Joseph Williamson to come in, and give him six thousand pounds, when my Lord St. Albans should be willing to part with the Chamberlain's staff, for which he was to give him ten: that my Lord St. Albans had been of late very much unresolved in this matter, and he knew not when he would fix; that whenever he did, he was engaged in the other to Sir Joseph Williamson, by the King's consent, and would do nothing to break it. But if I had a mind, and could make interest enough in my Lord Treasurer to turn it another way, and bring my Lord St. Albans to a resolution, he would leave me wholly to play my own game; and, for his own part, it should be all one to him, from whom he received the six thousand pounds: and he would not only be passive in it, but if the King should ask his opinion, as to the fitness or capacity of the persons, he would tell it him freely, with all the preference to me that I deserved.

I gave his Lordship many thanks for the kindness and frankness of this discourse; but I told him, I believed it need go no farther: that, for my own part, I was both against his going out of the Secretary's place, and against my own, or any body's, coming into it for money; and I ended this conversation with saying a great deal to dissuade him from leaving his place.

About three or four days after, Mr. Sidney told me, that my Lord Arlington had spoken to Mr. Mountague about what had passed between us, and with a great deal of kindness of me, especially for being so earnest with him to keep his place, and the reasons I had given him for it; but yet, in the belief that I ought not to neglect this occasion, because he was resolved. Mr. Sidney was mighty earnest with me to resolve too; and next day Mr. Mountague spoke to me himself; and believing nothing could stick with me, unless it were taking up the money, he offered to help me to it; which was more than I had reason to expect from him or any man else. My wife is enough inclined I should do it, though she and my children run most hazard in it, if I should die, and leave my estate charged with such a debt, which, though small at present, yet, I thank God, is clear. For my own part, I confess, I find no motions about me towards it, and should have thought the Spanish embassy a much better employment. I have ever detested the custom grown amongst us of selling places, and much more those of so much importance to the Crown. I think it no great honour to be preferred before Sir Joseph Williamson; and yet I would not do him an injury neither, as this would seem to be. I have seen such changes at Court, that I know not yet what to make of this last; and still remember poor Monsieur de Witt's word of, *fluctuation perpetuelle dans la conduite d' Angleterre;* which of all things in the world I am not made for, and had rather, once for all, break

my head with going on, than be wrenching myself continually with sudden turns. I need say no more of this matter; it lies before you. Pray please to talk with my brother about it; it is what the family is concerned in more than I; and, therefore, pray let me receive your judgment upon it, which in this, as all things else, shall ever have the greatest weight with, Sir, your obedient son, &c.

To Sir John Temple.

Sir, Sheen, May 16, 1674.

I HAVE wholly followed your opinion, both in declining the motion about the Secretary's place, and in fixing that of Holland; since I find that the only present employment you are content with for me, and you are not content with none. My Lord Arlington seemed to take what I said to him upon both very indifferently; and though at first he raised a scruple about my going into Holland, in regard of a certain Lord's having been very hot for some time in the pursuit of it, yet when I persisted in it, upon the King's having in February designed me for it of his own motion, he advised me to take my measures, as well as I could, with my Lord Treasurer about the main point, which was, what related to the Exchequer; and for the King, he knew very well there would be no difficulty. Both these are now settled: the King has resolved to send me over Ambassador-extraordinary to the States, and my Lord Treasurer is, after some contest, fallen into the terms I insisted, which is, to equal me with the other embassies of the Crowns; and so I engaged in my preparations for this journey. His Majesty is resolved I shall offer his mediation to the States in their present war with France. If it be accepted by them and all the parties, I reckon he will be master of the peace, and

the parties be hindered from making their separate treaties, when they are once engaged in a general one. I hope you will like what is done as much as you seemed before to desire it; which is all I ask, and leave the rest to God Almighty for what is to come.

I resolve to take my whole family over; but yet that my wife and son shall first make you a visit, since I see you will not think of coming over. It is their turn now, and my sister and I will go first into Holland; though we should both be very glad to wait upon you again, if it could have been allowed us. But my wife will not consent to my going without either her or my sister; and she has a great mind to carry over her son to you herself, after having been so long in France, and at an age when commonly the great changes are made, which you will judge of when you see him. I shall at present give you no farther trouble than the professions of my being ever, Sir, your, &c.

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

Sir, Hague, July 17, N. S. 1674.

I ORDERED an account of my arrival here, on Friday last, to be given Mr. Cook, by that night's post; which being all I had then to say, I thought might well save you any farther trouble at that time. On Saturday morning I sent to the Pensioner Fagel, to desire an hour of seeing him some time that day: he excused it, but sent me word withal, that he would not fail of coming to me some time in the evening; which he performed, in a visit about two hours long. After the compliments on both sides, I fell upon these points with him: the satisfaction his Majesty had received in the late peace with the States; his desires and resolutions to continue and cultivate it; the reason

he had to content himself with the posture and advantages in which he stood, by a peace with all his neighbours, while they were all engaged in a war; that, if his bounty and piety did not prevail with him, farther than his interests, he should sit down with his own peace, and not trouble himself farther about that of Christendom; but these dispositions, and the desire of so general a good, had engaged him to offer his mediation in the present quarrels: that it had been accepted by France, and promised to be considered of by the Emperor and Spain, in concert with their allies: that the States Ambassadors in England, who understood our constitution, and the dispositions of the King my Master, better than strangers could do, had promised all their offices, that his Majesty's offer might be accepted here, and that the parties might consent to the choice of London for the place of treaty, and thereupon I had brought over a letter from his Majesty to the States, with the offer of his mediation: that they ought to believe, that, if his Majesty were partial to any side, it must be to that wherein his own nephew was so nearly concerned; and that they ought to think so the rather, since his Majesty made the offers of mediation at a time when all the advantages of the war had run so high on the French side, and were, in all appearance, likely to do so still: that, perhaps, if his Majesty had seen Flanders like to be defended by the arms of the confederates, he might have spared or delayed this office: that they knew he understood his interest too well, to be content to see Flanders lost; and that his honour would not suffer him, no more than the condition in which the last war hath left him, to go about preserving it any other way, than that of a peace. That his Majesty would be very glad such a one might be made, as would leave Flanders in a better posture

of defending itself, than it was before, by laying the Spanish territories together more in a round, than the last peace left them: and, that when this should be concluded, I did not doubt, but they would find his Majesty ready to enter into the best and strongest guaranties of it they could desire.

I need not trouble you, to tell you how this matter passed between us; but sum up together, what all I drew from him in the last conference amounted to. He first gave me thanks for the advice I had given their Ambassadors there; and said, he should be glad I would always be their counsellor, how they ought to comport themselves to his Majesty upon all occasions. He fell into a relation of the forces of their present league, especially by the conjunction of the Duke of Brandenburgh, whose treaty with the Emperor and them, he assured me, was absolutely concluded, so as to bring him into an offensive part of the war: that though they could not expect another so great conjuncture, and had but too great testimonies of the ill-will of France, particularly to this State; yet, they had no other thoughts but only of gaining such a peace as might leave them and their allies out of danger upon a new invasion from France: that, for their own part, they had recovered all they had lost, except Grave, which they hoped suddenly for a good account of, being already invested by Monsieur Ralenhoupt; for Mastricht they had given up by agreement to the Spaniards. That it was impossible for them to leave their allies, who, under God, had saved their State from absolute ruin; but whatever terms of peace they would consent to, would satisfy the States: that they believed Spain would be moderate; and though their treaty with that Crown obligeth them to the terms of the Pyrenees, yet there is a clause which alloweth it to be altered by consent: that they apprehend

Sweden as too partial to France, but are content to make his Majesty arbiter in all their affairs; and to this end, that they were resolved to accept of the mediation, were willing that London should be the place of congress, and that they would leave it to his Majesty there, either to propose the scheme of a peace himself, or to retrench and adjust, according to his prudence and equity, what propositions should be made on each side by the parties themselves: that they would perform all the offices they could, to induce the Emperor and Spain to agree with them in these points, both by the States writing effectually to their Ministers in those two Courts, and by his speaking earnestly, both with the Imperial and Spanish Ministers here: that he was satisfied how safe their interest would lie in his Majesty's hands; and that this State would ever make it their endeavour to deserve the friendship and protection of the Crown of England; by which they knew it could best be preserved, as well as it had at first been raised.

After this conference with the Pensioner, I thought it best to neglect no time in the delivery of my letters, and so went that evening to the President of the week and put into his hands, both that of credence, and the other of mediation; which were both received by him with great applauses upon the subject of the peace, and the recovery of his Majesty's favour and friendship to this State.

Upon Sunday afternoon, the President, to whom I had delivered my letters, came to me, and told me, he was ordered by the States-General to attend me with the account of their having perused his Majesty's letters: upon the first, he made me their compliments, which being chiefly personal, need no relation. Upon the letters which carried his Majesty's offer of mediation, he said, Without

doubt, the States would receive it with joy and with thanks; but being engaged to several allies, they could not do it without first communicating it to them; which they would do immediately, and in such a manner, as they questioned not to induce them to accept it too. I told him, that the Emperor and Spain having put their delay in accepting of it upon their allies, by whom I understood the States to be meant; I expected, at least, that the States would have accepted it, as to themselves, or their part in the quarrel. But he said, that itself could not be done by their agreement, without a communication, which they hoped his Majesty would not interpret ill, since it could produce but the delay of some few days, and was meant to extend the acceptance of their allies. I desired him to let the States know, however, what I had expected in this point; and asked him, whether they would not have been glad, that upon his Majesty's offer of mediation to all the parties, France had refused it, or made difficulties upon it, and the confederates had accepted it with the best grace that could be? He confessed, he would: upon which, I told him, Then they had reason to be sorry that just the contrary had happened. He seemed to be touched, and said, he would likewise report this to the States.

I have not since been able to see the Pensioner, nor the President of the week; and therefore shall only say in general, that though the assurances I received from the first, and the account I had from the last, seem a little different; yet I am confident his Majesty may reckon that an obstruction of the peace will not arise from hence. For, besides the general dispositions and interests of traders, and the jealousies natural between the civil and military power; I find their payments are on all hands too great to be long continued; their hopes are

very moderate from the successes of their armies or fleets; and I see no advantages, that they propose to themselves, though both should prosper, beside the running France a little more out of breath; so that the peace may be probable to last the longer.

I find the Pensioner is the great man here, and acts all under the Prince's influence, though not without some distaste among the richer sort of people in the towns. He is a person whose dispositions may, I am confident, be improved to make him as partial to England, as those of his predecessor were esteemed to France, in case there were any competition of those two interests here. The point upon which I judge this to turn chiefly, is that of religion, in which I find him, by his discourses, very warm; and hear by others that he hath it very much at heart. I am ever, Sir, your most, &c.

To the Prince of Orange.

May it please your Highness, Hague, Aug. 1, 1674.

THOUGH I could not kiss your Highness's hands, in the way I desired, immediately upon my arrival here; yet I could not forbear the doing of it this way, upon the very first occasion; and assuring your Highness, with how much ambition, both of attending and serving you, I enter upon this employment; which without those motives would be but a point of mere obedience, and not at all of inclination. This, I am sure, your Highness will believe, when I have the honour of entertaining you upon those points, wherein his Majesty has pleased to instruct me, and which makes me so impatient to attend you, that I shall not stay to satisfy the forms here, but only to recover health enough for another journey and passage of sea,

that used me very ill. I hope this will happen within a day or two, and give me the occasion both of acquitting myself of his Majesty's commands, and of expressing some part of that devotion wherewith I have been so long, and shall be ever, Sir, your Highness's, &c.

To the Prince of Orange.

May it please your Highness, Hague, Aug. 18, 1674.

WHATEVER the successes of the late battle have been, or the consequences shall prove, your Highness may be content to hear from a plain man, and who has no vein of flattery about him, that the accounts of your friends, your allies, and your enemies, how much soever they differ on other points, yet agree perfectly in giving your Highness all the applauses and renown upon this occasion, that are due to the greatest captain and boldest soldier. I cannot but give your Highness the joy of it, and put you in mind, at the same time, how reasonable it is, that in such adventures hereafter, you should manage your life something the better, for having managed your glory so well in this *. It is not fit to give your Highness longer interruptions, and therefore I shall end this with my wishes for your safety, since those for your fortunes and honour have succeeded so well. I am ever, with that devotion and truth which become me, Sir, your Highness's most humble and most obedient servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, Sept. 4, N. S. 1674.

I WAS very glad to find, by yours of the 11th past, the good intentions with which the Marquis de

* The battle of *Seneffe*.

Fresno parted from you. If he can infuse them into the Ministers at Madrid, it will be a great point gained toward the peace; and such as, joined to the dispositions we shall meet here, will not leave room for the Imperial councils to avoid the progress of it. In the discourses I hold here upon this subject with the chief persons of the States, when I tell them how the peace is like to be hindered by interests wholly foreign to theirs, it is grown a common word amongst them, *Je ne dis mot, mais je voudrois fort la paix:* and you may certainly reckon upon all that can be done towards it from hence, when this campaign ends; and before that, I am apt to think so much that nothing will be done, as to believe the less it is offered at, the better. Sir Gabriel Sylvius left the Prince in the belief, that there would be another battle; and they tell me here, there is some great design resolved of by the confederates, which must be suddenly executed; because all agree that the Imperial troops have orders to march towards the Rhine by the middle of next month. Sir Gabriel tells me likewise, that at his coming away, he asked the Prince, whether he would be willing I should come to him any where, while he continued in the field? but that his Highness answered, *Qu'il seroit fort éloigné, & ses marches incertaines; que la campagne s'achevroit bientôt, & qu' alors il me verroit à la Haye.* Notwithstanding all this, which is no more than I have known long enough; yet I have so well followed your Lordship's advice, in understanding what had passed, just as the Prince was willing I should, that I am pretty confident I shall be as well with him at his return, as the King can wish for the advance of the service I have in charge. I am assured by one, to whom Monsieur de Marestes (the French Minister here, who has great credit with the Prince) told it a little before his

Highness left the Hague, that upon discourse, in private, concerning the affairs of England, and my coming over, the Prince said, *Qu'il avoit telle opinion de ma probité, qu'il croiroit tout ce que je lui dirois là-dessus.* What the late accident between us may have produced, I know not; but by a letter I received this morning, in answer to one I wrote upon the late fight, I could not believe any thing amiss there. I send your Lordship a copy of it, because this is his own, though the last might very well be another style, as you guessed.

I likewise inclosed what I said to the States at my audience, which I hope his Majesty will find conformable to what he intended, which I should be glad to know: and for the rest of that troublesome ceremony, I will only tell you, that it passed very well on both sides; and I am sure on mine, with a great deal more expence, than any embassy I have ever seen here; which (considering the course of my natural humour, when I am private) his Majesty may very well attribute to the regard of his honour; that ought to be the greater, the worse I found the representations made from England hither, of the posture of our affairs, and especially of the revenue. After this, I am like to be idle for a month or six weeks, that is till the return of the Prince; and if I am left to myself, I will not be too busy, which is a part rather overacted by my brother Ambassador here, upon the point of mediation, and is grown to be taken for so much of little to the purpose. But when the Prince comes, if his Majesty gives me leave to take my times and ways, and continues in the mind I left him, of desiring such a peace as might leave Flanders defensible, and can but procure powers from Spain to any person within my reach here; I am pretty confident, by all the prospects I have on every side, that it will be a business within com-

pass. I am not less confident of setting all things *right* between his Majesty and the Prince, and thereby preventing the seeds of any future mischiefs in the royal family; both which works, I desire you will assure his Majesty, shall be pursued with all my skill and industry, and in the ways I conceive most conducing to their success; and if I have the honour of atchieving them, it will be enough for such a life as mine: and the King will then give me leave, I hope, to go and sleep at home, and leave my son in the busy world, which requires men spirited with some other heats, than I have about me. If upon his coming over, you can find any thing you would have said to me, though he be young, yet, I am pretty confident, he may be trusted with it; for he has a good plain steady head, and is desirous to do well.

I do not trouble you with any current news, having cast a digestion of all that occurs here of that kind upon my secretary; as being unwilling to answer for what one hears, though perhaps it may be fit to tell with the very uncertainties that attend it. However I take care he shall be as well informed as can be compassed in this place. I am ever, most affectionately, your, &c.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord, Hague, Sept. 4, N. S. 1674.

I KNOW so well how many necessary troubles attend so great persons as your Lordship, that I have been very unwilling at all to increase them by any that are unnecessary from hence; and such, I am sure, all must be that come this way, since your Lordship has whatever you are content to be troubled with of my constant dispatches to Mr. Secretary. However, I could not satisfy myself to be wholly out of your memory, and therefore resolved

to make an ill way to it, rather than none; though I had much rather put in my claim to it, by serving your Lordship, than by troubling you. The dispositions here are strong towards a peace, and, I hear, they are not weak in France. Spain would be glad to make a good war, but fears an ill one: which, by the division of their councils and Ministers, may well fall to their share. The Emperor is most eager of the four to keep up the ball, being armed at others cost, and growing into greater consideration by it at home, whatsoever he does abroad. Sweden would, I believe, be glad to draw the stakes they have in their keeping, without entering into the game; and though they have treaties concluded with France, and begin to arm with their money, yet they press on the mediation with all the instances they can, in hope that way to excuse themselves from any share in this year's action. Denmark only observes the motion of that Crown, and will be ever in the other scale.

The Prince of Orange is, I doubt, resolved to have more honour yet before this campaign ends, though he had his full share of it in the last action of Seneffe, and more than his share of the danger. This makes us here expect another battle or siege very suddenly; and while so great adventures are stirring, no man can judge of the events of the year. I enclose a copy of what I said to the States last week at my public audience, that your Lordship may judge whether it be conformable to his Majesty's intentions, which you are better acquainted with.

Among the many pieces of justice your Lordship does every day to indifferent men, I hope you will not refuse me that of believing me always what I am with passion and truth, my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful, and most humble servant.

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

Sir, Hague, Sept. 17, N. S. 1674.

THIS day I received a visit from the Pensioner, wherein he told me, first, that by letters from Vienna he had great hopes given him, that his Majesty's mediation would be accepted by that Court, and that this advice was seconded by the Emperor's Ministers here; though he said, he found by both, that his Majesty's subjects having had so great a share in the last action between Monsieur Turenne and the Imperial forces, was taken very unkindly by that Court, and other Princes of the Empire. He told me besides, that he had a particular advice from the States Ministers at Vienna, that Monsieur Puffendorf, the Swedish envoy there, endeavoured under-hand all he could to hinder the accepting his Majesty's mediation by that Court, which he (the Pensioner) could not apprehend the reason of; unless it were, that the Swedes had no mind to see the present game end without making yet some more advantages of it; or that they had a desire to remain the sole arbiter of the Munster peace; whereas the interpretation of some articles of it might be referred to his Majesty, in case his mediation should now be accepted by the Empire. But upon this point the Pensioner concluded, that if this matter should be much longer delayed, by either the Court at Vienna, or Madrid, this State would let them know, that they absolutely accepted his Majesty's mediation, which he did not doubt would be followed by a concurrence from them both.

After this, he told me, that upon the representations he had made to the Prince of what had passed between us here upon the subject of the peace, he had received orders from his Highness

to come to me, and desired to know more particularly what his Majesty's intentions were in this matter, and upon what terms his Majesty desired the peace should be made; and to assure me, that when he knew them, his Highness would endeavour that this State should comply all that could be with them; and that, as to what concerned themselves, he knew they would be content to leave all to his Majesty's own arbitrage; and he did not doubt, though they could not treat apart from their allies, yet they might go a great way in disposing them to receive any overture that should be made of a safe and lasting peace. He told me farther, that his orders from the Prince were to enter into this matter only with me, and without the communication of their Ambassadors in England, because he thought it was the better, the fewer hands it passed.

I told the Pensioner, I would not fail letting his Majesty know all that he had said to me from the Prince, and returning him an answer more particularly, so soon as I received it: in the mean time, I was sure, that it would be taken kindly by his Majesty; and that the more confidence he expressed of the King's kindness to him, as well as of his justice in the business of the mediation, the more reason he would have to rely upon both. That for the terms of the peace, I could only say in general, that his Majesty desired, as well as they, that it might be lasting and safe, being equally concerned in preserving Flanders, which was only in danger: but for particulars, I thought it was not the part of a Mediator to propose the terms, but rather receive such as should be proposed by both parties, and endeavour to agree them, by moderating what should seem excessive, and finding expedients for what was difficult in either of these demands. That on the French side, all being

in the hands of one Prince, it might be resolved in a day; but the interests and intentions of several confederates were harder to agree upon; and therefore I thought the propositions towards a peace ought to begin from thence; which if his Majesty were once possessed of, he would endeavour to make them go as far as they could with France: therefore I told him, that as I would transmit to his Majesty the Prince's desire of knowing the King's intentions in this matter; so they ought to know what terms Spain proposed to themselves after a campaign past with so great expectation and so little advantage on the confederate side.

The Pensioner told me, I had reason in all I said, and that he would speak with Don Emanuel de Lyra, who he found had so much credit in his Court, that he had never yet been disavowed in any thing he had undertaken for. He said, he knew it was a disadvantageous time for them to talk of a peace now, but that he hoped they might yet have some success before the campaign ended; which he desired for nothing so much, as for the sooner obtaining the peace; since it might look unreasonable for them to demand the restitution of places conquered in Flanders last war; and yet it was absolutely unsafe for them to have that country in the posture it was upon the treaty of Aix; that if this could be admitted, they were sure of the peace; for he had received new instances from the Count d'Estrades, by the Pensioner of Maestricht, who had been with him again that very morning, and assured him, that what the Count proposed was not only from himself, but by orders from his Master; and hereupon he repeated to me what I wrote to you before of that proposition, which was grounded upon the treaty of Aix, the restoring commerce to the State as it was in 1662;

and Maestricht to the Prince of Orange, but not to the Spaniard. From this he fell into the scheme of their present affairs, assuring himself of Grave in a fortnight's time; of the Imperial army on the Rhine growing very strong, and Monsieur Turenne's very weak; as likewise Monsieur Schomberg's in Rousillon, where the campaign was but now beginning; and for the rest, excusing, as well as he could, the ill success of their fleet under Monsieur de Ruyter, and saying they should draw four thousand men out of it, upon their coming home, for reinforcing their armies: and a great deal of this kind, which signified no more, than the resolution of making the rest of this campaign.

In the mean time, his Majesty has it in his choice, to open a negotiation of the peace, either by telling them here his own thoughts or intentions, as to the terms of it; or else, by receiving from them such propositions upon it, as may be first digested here between Don Emanuel de Lyra and the Pensioner; and this I shall endeavour all I can to bring to some head; and, let it be as rough as it will at first, it will be the proper part of a Mediator afterwards to work it into the best form that it is capable of receiving. For this end, I am resolved to find out some expedient or other to meet with Don Emanuel de Lyra, who hath not yet seen me, upon the points of ceremony that lie between our characters. For the present, I shall only say, upon the whole matter, that, I believe, in case France can be induced to leave such a frontier in Flanders as may be thought defensible, and so leave no suspicions of their design to begin a new war when they are in a better posture, and these countries in a worse, to pursue it; the business of the peace will hardly fail, nor any interest, either private or foreign, prevail with this State to go on with the war. But, on the other

side, if this point cannot be gained, I believe the dispositions here, how passionate soever towards a peace, will not have the force to bring it about; but that they will rather content themselves to lessen their own charge, by setting out no more fleets, and only maintaining a body of five-and-twenty or thirty thousand men at land, which, as auxiliary forces, may, upon occasion, join with the Imperial or Spanish troops, who shall be left as principal in the war. I am ever, Sir, your, &c.

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

Sir, Hague, Sept. 13, N. S. 1674.

In one of my late letters I gave you notice of the many complaints made me by the English merchants here, concerning the seizure of their ships by the French and Spanish privateers, to the great discouragement of our trade, and damage of his Majesty's subjects. The merchants here were not content, it seems, with the promises I made them, of representing this matter to the King; but have since sent me a formal petition upon this subject (which I here inclose), and written to me, at the same time, a very earnest letter to recommend it to your favour, which I could not refuse to do, believing it indeed myself to be a business of the same consequence they represent it, and therefore very well worthy of his Majesty's consideration. For the matter of passes, mentioned in their petition, I have hitherto refused to give them, as having received no orders in that point; though the merchants here pretend to have notice from England, that such orders have been transmitted to me. When they come, I shall obey them; but in the mean time have excused myself, notwithstanding all their importunity.

I shall increase this trouble no farther, than by

my professions of being always, Sir, your most faithful humble servant.

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

Sir, Hague, October 5, N. S. 1674.

I HAVE none from you of late to acknowledge, and doubt I lie too much out of your way, to expect any longer the honour of that correspondence with which my employment here began, and which I esteemed one of the best circumstances that attended it. Sir Joseph Williamson gave me notice last post, both of his promotion, and of the affairs of this Province being fallen under his care; as likewise, of what commands his Majesty had that day ordered to be transmitted to me; whereupon I make him this day the usual dispatch in return. I know not whether by this change you will be able to get wholly out of my reach; because, you know, it is hard for a man to lose a good haunt, or an ill custom; and I shall not be content to forfeit the possession of your favour or memory, for want of sometimes laying claim to it. I must, however, rejoice with you upon your removal to better climates, and more prosperous scenes; especially at a time when the affairs of this have so very ill an aspect, by the dissentions and distrusts among the Generals of the confederates; which, I may tell you, are to the last degree, and the most criminal; and such as have not only ruined their affairs this campaign, but must do so while these men are in play. I will not give you both a long and an unnecessary trouble: what use you will make of me here, and in what degree, shall be in your own disposal; for no man is with more truth nor esteem than I am, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, October 5, N. S. 1674.

THOUGH I gave you joy of the Secretary's place before I came away, and desired your protection, as looking then upon it as a thing done; yet finding by the last ordinary, that you were but now newly entered upon the actual possession of it, I could not forbear renewing the expressions that become me upon both those subjects; and wishing you the honour, and his Majesty the service, that you both propose to yourselves by this promotion. I know very well the compliments I can make you, will be lost, as they deserve, among many others you will receive upon this occasion: and therefore I shall not increase them, or give a long and unnecessary interruption in the midst of so much and so various business, as must have fallen upon you with this advancement; but shall end this trouble with the professions of my being, Sir, your, &c.

To the Prince.

Hague, October 15, N. S. 1674.

May it please your Highness,

I CANNOT forbear rejoicing with your Highness upon your nearer approach to these countries, and wishing you all success in the designs that have brought you where you are, and hindered your coming farther at present, though your Highness's person may be necessary here, as well as in other places. In my last, I gave your Highness an account of what I said to the States at my audience, and therein the general scope of my present embassy, as to what concerns his Majesty's dispositions, both in relation to his own peace with these countries, and to the general peace of Christendom. Your

Highness will have received, before this comes to you, from his Majesty's own hands, and at length, what you could desire more of his particular kindness to your Highness's person and interests, and of his intentions upon the subject of the peace, both as to the preservation of Flanders, and guaranty of the peace, if it were once concluded, towards which your Highness must furnish the first materials.

If, upon this occasion, your Highness has any commands to lay upon me, I should be very glad to know, whether you please to have me attend them here, till your return to this place, or think fit to convey them to me by Monsieur Fagel, or any other person; or whether you will command me to wait upon you at any place or time you shall please to appoint: in the mean time, I pray God continue your Highness's health and safety, according to the constant wishes of, Sir, your Highness's, &c.

To my Lord Chamberlain.

My Lord, Hague, October 16, N. S. 1674.

THE last pacquets brought me yours of the 29th past, which was in all parts of it both useful and welcome to me, excepting only the excuses it began with, upon the arrear you mention of so many letters during your illness and absence from town. How unnecessary any such expressions were to me, you will easily judge by my having continued constantly the course of writing whenever I had any occasion; which I did, and shall do, upon the belief you are content it should be so, whether you write or no, till you discourage me in it. I was very glad to find by the style of your letter, that your health was grown better, and your temper not at all worse since the ill accidents that have lately fallen out; enough, indeed, to shake them both, if they had not been firm at bottom. The best wish I can

make you, is, that you may long enjoy and continue them both; especially that *æquam rebus in arduis servare mentem;* which I take to be either the best possession we bring with us into the world, or the best acquisition we can make while we are in it.

I must acknowledge the honour his Majesty does me, and, indeed, the credit he thereby gives me with the Prince, by the communication of what was the substance of his last letter; which, I think, was the rightest understood that could be, and cannot but produce some good effect; either by procuring a direct answer from the Prince upon the main point; or, at least, by introducing me, in the very best manner, into the overtures and negotiation of it, when I see the Prince, which cannot be far off. In the mean time, I have immediately upon the receipt of yours written to his Highness just the points you directed me in; and, in a manner, the very terms you give me; desiring to know, whether he will have me attend his return hither, or send me his commands by Monsieur Fagel, or any other person; or have me wait upon him in any place, or time, he shall please to command.

I have never heard from him since I gave his Highness an account of what I said to the States at my audience, and therein the scope of his Majesty's dispositions concerning the peace, with the offers of his mediation; which made me think he would be stanch in all that matter, till the campaign ended; and, perhaps, the colder he is, the less he should be pressed till the course of things and occasions bring him about, and dispose him rather to solicit his Majesty's offices than decline them. This, I believe, may happen at his return hither; especially if Grave should be taken; which would still increase the violent inclinations to the peace, which grow every day in these Provinces; especially that of Holland, and most of all in the town of

Amsterdam, which begins to apprehend a loss of trade, that will be hardly recovered, after any long course into another channel.

By what I can find from Don Emanuel de Lyra, the dispositions at Madrid are strong towards a peace too, so it might leave no prospect of a new war; and though I suspect the intentions at Vienna, upon the Emperor's power at home, as well as his consideration abroad, increasing so much and so evidently by the war; yet knowing how absolutely that Court must depend upon Spain and Holland, from whom they draw the subsidies that maintain their armies; I am of opinion, that not only his Majesty's mediation would be easily accepted by all parties; but the absolute arbitrage of all matters in difference would be left in his hands, in case the confederates were but possessed with an opinion of his Majesty's being impartial in the matter; to which, I hope, his last discourse with the Marquis de Fresno, and letter to the Prince, may have a great deal contributed.

The Emperor's Resident here told me two days since, that Court was resolved to accept his Majesty's mediation; *Mais toujours sous l'aveu de l'Espagne:* and that they were upon the choice of a person to be sent over suddenly with public character into England. The Dutch Minister writes to the States, that the Emperor will not accept the mediation, till his Majesty's forces are recalled out of France: but the Resident here says, there is no such condition mentioned; though he adds, modestly, it would be a great inducement to the Emperor, and help to satisfy the Princes of Germany with the Emperor's coming to that resolution; who took it to heart to see such a body of English *en tous les démelés durant toute cette campagne.* Besides, I must needs tell you, that the Dutch Ambassadors have made such representations of the dispositions and

intentions of our Court being so absolutely in favour of France, that they are very apt here to interpret the instances we make towards a peace to be concerted with France; and some of them tell me plainly and frankly, they knew the King would not make them, if France did not desire the peace, and find it necessary for their affairs. When I say, their Ambassadors, I do not mean Monsieur Odyke, nor what they have written since his being there; but I reflected upon a passage, which one of the States told me was in a late letter from the other Ambassadors; which was, *Monsieur Odyke nous asseure que le Roy a de fort bonnes dispositions pour nôtre Etat.*

The late action near Strasburgh will prove, I believe, at last, to have been a drawn business, and leave each party the pretence of a victory; as, I see, it has done of the field: I am sorry to hear his Majesty's subjects have suffered so much in it; and doubt it will make way for a greater battle shortly, in case the Brandenburgh forces come up on the Imperial side; and both the troops of the Ban, and detachment from the Prince of Condé, on the French; both which, I find, are suddenly expected. They begin now to apprehend Sweden's entering into the war; which must engage Denmark, and open a greater and longer scene, in all appearance; and leave his Majesty the only mediator in so general a quarrel.

This is too long a letter to one that is but newly recovered, and engaged in so many other thoughts; and yet it must not end without my being ever your most faithful and humble servant.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord, Hague, Oct. 16, N. S. 1674.

The bearer hereof, Mr. Edmund Curtis, has an opinion that my recommendation may have some va-

lue with your Lordship: and I have too much vanity in this point to disabuse him. Your Lordship will, on the other side, I hope do me so much justice, as to believe I would employ my intercession to no man, but least of all to your Lordship, where I were not invited to it by what I esteemed very evidently just and reasonable; as I do, indeed, think this affair: which is a demand of satisfaction from the town of Newcastle for having saved their haven from being utterly spoiled; and by a piece of skill peculiar to himself; which was the reason of his Majesty's commanding him down thither upon that occasion. He is a person who has deserved well from his Majesty in several matters; and in whose just support I must confess to have concerned myself, especially his affairs of this nature; as having been the first that put him upon this invention of wreck-fishing, for the recovery of his Majesty's tin cast away before Ostend in the year 1666, which he performed with great success; as he has done several others likewise since, upon his Royal Highness's patent for fifteen years; and a contract his Highness commanded me to make with him in 1669: and upon which, I doubt not, but he would have made greater advantages to himself, than he demands from the town of Newcastle; besides considerable ones to the Duke this summer, if this pursuit had left him in purse, and at liberty. Your Lordship's favour and countenance to him in this affair, which I left his Majesty very much inclined to, will, I am sure, agree with your eminent justice in all other cases; and will do me a great deal of honour, in letting him see that you are pleased to own me for, my Lord, your, &c.

To my Lord Privy Seal.

My Lord, Hague, Oct. 16, N. S. 1674.

THE bearer hereof, Mr. Edmund Curtis, having an affair depending before the council with the town of Newcastle, for satisfaction of clearing and saving their harbour, by a piece of skill peculiar to himself; which was the cause of his Majesty's sending him thither, to that purpose; he has desired me to recommend him to your Lordship's just protection: and I was very glad of an occasion of pretending thereby to be in some degree of your Lordship's favour; and of supporting, as far as I could, a man I have known long, and a case I esteem very just; and, at the same time, of professing myself, my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful humble servant.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord, Hague, October 26, N. S. 1674.

MY letters could never pretend more than your Lordship's pardon, and have had too great a return in the honour I received of one from your Lordship, intended me, by my son; who, I doubt, will be grown too proud by your Lordship's owning him: but he is young, and may live to deserve some place in your service; which when you please to allow him, I shall own him no longer, than while he acquits himself well. I should be extremely glad to receive the smallest command from your Lordship in that particular you please to mention, or any other; that so by my diligence in small ones I may deserve greater; and thereby find some better ways of acknowledging the favours I have received, and the troubles I have given your Lordship, than by increasing them.

The notices you please to command from time

to time, of any thing that happens extraordinary, shall not fail you. As to the inquiries in your last, concerning the dispositions to a peace, and their tampering with France; I may assure your Lordship, that the first grow very violent; and will, I believe, appear so more, if they come to be masters of Grave, where they are engaged, both upon honour, and revenge of so many men as it has cost them; and being the only place of theirs remaining among the French conquests (since they have, by treaty, quitted Maestricht to the Spaniards), whenever they recover it, they will, I believe, begin to play the mediators in the rest of the quarrel. But that which makes the bent of the people in general so passionate for a peace, is the unmeasurable burden of their taxes; and the interest of the trading towns, that say, upon all occasions, there is none gets by this war but England; and that, if it should continue a year or two longer, the general course of trade would run so far into our channel, that they should be in danger never to recover it. Besides, the rich men here are generally of the Arminian party, and jealous of the Prince's greatness, which must increase by a war. So as all these humours flowing together, make a current that nothing can stem, but the force of their engagements to their confederates; and of their interest in preserving of Flanders, to such a degree, and in such a posture as may leave France without the design of another war that way; or, in case they attempt it, may prove a strong bulwark to these countries, and easily defensible by their assistances, without entering as principals into the war.

By this your Lordship will easily conclude, that no obstruction to the peace is like to come from hence; but from Spain, or the Emperor. For Spain, their government is so broken by the fac-

tion of the Ministers, and minority of their King, that they find themselves very unfit for any great action in the world; and so would, I am confident, be very glad of a peace; provided it might leave them out of fear of another invasion from France; and so they may neither be compelled to so vast an expence, as the maintaining of great armies in time of peace, nor despair of defending their country whenever a war should begin: and they think neither of these can be brought about by a peace upon the terms of Aix la Chapelle; which left Flanders neither of a size to keep great armies, nor of a figure to be defended by small.

For these reasons, though the want of success this campaign has made them, I believe, willing to come to a peace, much under the terms of the Pyrenees; which were fixed by the confederates upon the last treaty between the house of Austria and this State; yet, I doubt, they will rather try another campaign, upon the hopes of what their present conjunction may yet produce, than end the war just where it began.

For the Emperor, I doubt more the dispositions to a peace on his side, than any of the rest; finding himself powerfully armed, and at others cost, and thereby his consideration growing greater every day in the empire, whatever it does abroad. Besides, whatever battles may cost, the resources of men are so great in Germany, that they can never fail whilst Spain and Holland can furnish the money, or the several circles of the empire continue animated in the quarrel. Besides, the Emperor foresees himself engaged in a war with France, upon the succession of Flanders, if the King of Spain should fail without issue; and therefore had rather drive on the war till he can see Flanders secured, and Lorrain in safe hands, than leave those points to be disputed by a new war, at a time, per-

haps, when he may not find himself so strong, either in confederates abroad, or the concurrence at home of the several Princes and circles; nor so disengaged from the Turk, or the troubles of Hungary at his back.

For the Princes of the Empire, though they seem a good deal spirited in the present quarrel, by the late invasions of France, and the exchange of many cruelties between the two nations in the Palatinate; and by the possessions given them of the safety, as well as honour of Germany, being engaged in this war; yet, I believe, after the first heat is over, the dissensions natural to bodies that have so many heads, the jealousy of too great a growth of the Emperor's power, and the fear of drawing the Swedes again into the war, or spoils of Germany, will incline them generally enough to a peace, and without straining further than the treaty of Munster; beyond which France has not pretended any design, that I remember, in the course of the war.

For Sweden, I look upon them as engaged with France by treaty and money; both already received, and more lying ready at Hamburg, upon their entering into action; which, I believe, they will be glad to avoid, at least for this year, if they can any way excuse it to France: and this makes them so earnest upon the mediation, and use so great instances towards agreeing a place of congress; which might look like the beginning of treaty, and make their offices in it pass for some satisfaction of what they owe to France. If they engage in the war, they will, I believe, try to set the Bishop of Munster again upon his legs: and, on the other side, the King of Denmark will join with the Elector of Brandenburgh and Dukes of Lunenburgh, to make head against Sweden, in these western parts of the Empire.

For these States tampering with France, all I have found of it with certainty, I gave notice to the Secretaries about six weeks since; which was a negotiation begun by the Count d'Estrades, governor of Maestricht, and formerly in the service and ambassage of this country. He assured the Pensioner here, of his Master's restoring not only the Grave but Maestricht too, provided it might not be given to the Spaniards: of returning all points of commerce to the state they were in by the treaty of 1662: of advancing all that could be any interests and advantages of the Prince upon a treaty: and of making the peace with Spain upon the terms of Aix la Chapelle. Though I saw a very earnest letter upon this occasion, in general, from the Count d'Estrades himself; yet no particulars have passed further, than between the Pensioner here, and the person to whom it was writ, and who was sent to him from Maestricht: and the last answer I could hear of was, that, when they saw any thing in writing, they would give an answer to it. Upon the whole, I do not doubt of this State's having very advantageous terms from France, if they would make a peace separate from their allies; but I see not how that can be done, either with honour or safety, considering the opinion they have of our new intelligence with France, even in all our offers of mediating the peace; and which their Ambassadors in England have long infused into them. On the other side, the dispositions on all hands considered, I am confident, if the confederates were possessed with any belief of his Majesty's being impartial in the business, they would not only accept his mediation, but wholly remit their differences to his arbitrage.

I beg your Lordship to believe, I do not intend you many such troubles, or would have given you this, without your encouraging me: and that by

opening the scene for once, your Lordship might the better judge, as any actors come in, what paces they are like to make.

I beg your Lordship's pardon, and the belief of my being, with great passion and truth, my Lord, your Lordship's, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, Nov. 6, N. S. 1674.

I WAS extremely glad to find by your's of the 20th and 30th past, that his Majesty had resolved to support me in the claim I had made here of a free trade for all our ships, and the merchandize they carry (if not counterband) without any exception of their trading from one enemy's port to another; which cannot, I am sure, be drawn from the words of the articles. This made me confident, even before the arrival of your letters, by a second memorial to the States General to demand the restitution of the Rebecca; and to tell them, very plainly, that, if any doubt might arise upon the sense of any article in treaties subsisting between his Majesty and them, it could not be resolved without his Majesty's consent; and till that was obtained, they could not make themselves the sole judges or interpreters against the plain common sense of any words, and to the prejudice of his Majesty's subjects. This was the point I put all the weight upon in my memorial; but having the day after received his Majesty's pleasure, with your account of what had passed here in your return this way, and your arguments upon this subject; I demanded an hour of the Pensioner, and ran through a very long debate with him upon this matter. The heads of his arguments were, the judgment, he pretended, of several authors upon the point: the practice of France and Spain, and

Sweden with them, and ours, in the time of his late Majesty and King James; which he undertook to give me examples of: and lastly, that it could not be the meaning to drive an enemy's trade, but only to preserve a friend's. I easily eluded this last by the answer you made it, and by my own very true protestations, that at my signing the confirmation of those articles I had no such sense of them, as he would now give them; but took the meaning of them to be just the same with the words: that free ships made free goods, in all cases, unless that of counterband. For the sense of authors writing upon general themes, and for their own credit, or that of their professions, I said, they could not be admitted to interpret any particular treaties between Princes and States; who might make what agreement they pleased between themselves, and very different from what authors call *jus gentium*, or general reason; by which, I think, they commonly mean their own: that for the practice of other Kings with them, it was no rule of theirs with his Majesty; nor any agreement, that we should not have justice from them, because they could not obtain it from others: but on the contrary, though they had it not, yet they ever demanded it both of France and Spain; which was a certain proof that they esteemed that just in their own case, which they will not allow to be so in ours: that, for the practice he offered to produce on our parts, in his late Majesty's time, I should be content to see it, but could not tell how it could square with the present case; since it was grounded upon articles never in force between his Majesty and this State till the treaty of Breda. I added to what I said in my memorial, how unjust their pretences were, to make a wrested interpretation of plain words, without his Majesty's consent: that it was not fair to do it at a time

when the advantage of such an article was only cast on our side by the common revolutions of war and peace, which might be in their favour to-morrow, as they were in ours to-day; whereas, when the advantage was, by like accidents, cast on their side, as it had been with France and Spain, they had ever insisted on the very same point that we do now, and never given over the instances upon it, whether they received satisfaction or no. After a long and warm debate, I gained this from the Pensioner; that, for his own part, he was content it should be as I desired it, since the King understood it so, and it was to be reciprocal between us: that he could do nothing upon it in the States General till the States of Holland assembled, which would be about a fortnight hence: that he would then propose it there, and endeavour their compliance with his Majesty, especially if the Prince, at his return, approved of it; and that in the mean time he would endeavour to have the goods in the Rebecca, or the product of them, deposited, till the States came to a resolution in this matter; the ship itself being already free and gone, pursuant to a resolution taken by the State in May last upon this point.

I have been larger in stating this matter as it stood between me and the Pensioner, that, being of so mighty importance to our trade at this time, his Majesty might both see the right he had on his side, and be the firmer in maintaining it: and you may please to instruct me in any further arguments, against I enter the lists with Commissioners here, if they should prove difficult, though the Pensioner be satisfied with it.

For the passes and orders to be sent with the ship of advice for Surinam, he assures me, they shall be ready against I receive the names of ship and person; but excuses their going with blanks,

as a thing contrary to the constant forms of this State; which, indeed, I doubted of before, and therefore took the liberty to desire your instructing me thereupon as soon as you could.

Though the current news here be still favourable to the strength, or, at least, good countenance of the confederate troops in Alsatia; yet I saw a letter yesterday from a very good hand, which makes a different story, and says, they had given over all thoughts of fighting Monsieur Turenne; and that though the Brandenburgh and Lunenburgh troops talked of taking up their winter quarters in the Upper Alsace, while those of the Emperor and the other circles designed theirs in Suabia; yet it was believed at Strasburgh, Monsieur Turenne would still keep the field, and either engage the confederates, or else force them all to retire beyond the Rhine. All the countenance that has been made by the horse of the confederate armies in Flanders has been, I suppose, only to keep the French a little alarmed, so as to send no more of their forces towards Monsieur Turenne. The Prince came to a house he is building in the Province of Utrecht, on Sunday, made a great hunting party for yesterday, and intended to be here, as some say, to-day; but as others, not till Thursday, being the day after the bonfires intended for Grave. Yesterday were sent into my yard about forty pitch barrels upon this occasion, being said to be sent by order of the States; and the like, or in proportion, to other foreign Ministers; but I ordered them to be sent back, and told some of the States, that whenever I made any such fire, I would do it upon his Majesty's charge, and no other's: that, in the mean time, I did not think fit to do it at all upon this occasion, when his Majesty had offered his mediation in a quarrel lying between two of his allies; and that it would not

look like the part of a mediator, to have his Minister thus concern himself in successes of either side. They pleaded an old form in this matter, and that it was intended to be done by those the States employed, and especially in the chief open places of the town. Upon which I told them, they might do it how they pleased, but that I should no way concern myself in it.

I ask your pardon for so long a trouble, which I shall end with the professions of my being always, Sir, your, &c.

To the King.

Hague, Nov. 30, N. S. 1674.

May it please your Majesty,

HAVING seen the Prince twice since his return hither, and at leisure, I thought it became me to give your Majesty an account of what I could observe, as to his present dispositions, both in general, and more particularly in what concerns your Majesty and the business of the peace. In general, I believe, he is pleased with the life he has led this summer, and loves the trade, and thinks himself better in health and humour, the less he is at rest: so that, I doubt, the motions towards peace must be made from his interests, rather than his inclinations. For what touches your Majesty, I find all the expressions of duty, and service, and affection, to be such as you can desire, and to have all the appearance that can be of sincereness and truth. And I believe them so the more, by his Highness's enlarging so much upon the interest of a near conjunction with your Majesty, and between the nations; which, he says, would make you both safe at home and abroad, and in need of no other alliances: and a great deal more of this kind.

For the business of the peace, though he com-

plains very much of the ill performance of the Spaniards and Imperialists, yet I find him positive upon these points, that this State can make no separate peace upon any terms that France can offer them: that a general peace cannot be made without leaving Flanders in a posture of defending itself from any new and sudden invasion of France, against which no guaranties could defend it: that Spain cannot quit the county of Burgundy nor Cambray upon any exchange; nor any thing in Flanders beyond the terms of the Pyrenees, unless it be Aire or St. Omer. That he had written to your Majesty all he yet knew of the Spaniards intentions; but if he might know upon what terms you thought a peace reasonable, and desired it, he would do all in his power to bring it about, as he had done in the business of the mediation, which, he told me, was now accepted at Madrid as well as Vienna. When I said, your Majesty having been the author and guarand of the peace at Aix, and not having seen the French yet beaten out of any one town that was given them by that treaty, could with ill grace propose any thing to France beyond those terms, or something equivalent; he said resolutely, that it were better going on with the war, let it last as long, and cost as much, as it would; and that he believed all men of any sense in this country were of the same mind. I told his Highness, that I doubted it, and wished, that, upon trial, he did not find it otherwise. But, seeing him unmovable upon these discourses, I turned them another way, and said, though your Majesty would omit nothing that became a Christian King and a friend to his Highness, in the good offices towards a peace; yet, if they were not understood to be so, your Majesty might perhaps content yourself to grow rich by the increase of your customs and of trade; and let them and

their neighbours knock their heads together as long as they pleased. He smiled, and said, he believed so; and for that reason, I talked of terms which I knew the Spaniards could not accept of: and then he fell into talk, how easy it was for your Majesty to bring France to such a peace as you pleased, and how much it was your interest to leave Flanders safe; and many things upon that theme, that your Majesty hath heard enough of before from Monsieur Van Beuninghen. The end was, that he would expect to know your Majesty's mind upon his last letter, to which he could add nothing till then. And I thought your Majesty by this account, and the knowledge of your mediation being accepted now by all parties, would the better resolve what step to make next in this matter; which was the occasion of this trouble. It is already too long, but must not end without the marks of that devotion wherewith I am, Sir, your Majesty's most loyal and most obedient subject, and most humble servant.

To my Lord Chamberlain.

My Lord, Hague, Nov. 13, N. S. 1674.

I HAVE given his Majesty a particular account of the best observations I could make upon my first audience from his Highness, and a visit he hath since made me; besides what I writ to Mr. Secretary Williamson the day of his Highness's arrival. By all which you will judge what sort of dispositions you have to deal with in this Prince; little favourable, I doubt, to the designs of a general peace, as little inclined to the unactive life which such a scene must introduce. Besides, he finds his authority rise with his credit among the people here, by every small success of his arms, which is attributed personally to him; while the want of it in the confederate armies is laid wholly upon the conduct or qua-

lities of the other generals. He hath a very good opinion of his own troops, and a very great one of the Germans; believes, if the Count de Souches had pleased, the Prince of Condé had been certainly beaten at Seneffe; and reckons, that by a better constitution of the Imperial Court, and Ministers, the confederates may hope for more honour next campaign than they had this. On the other side, he thinks France will find it hard to furnish so many and so good men as Germany; and that if the confederates lose this conjuncture to free themselves and Flanders from any further fears that way, they are never to hope for another. Besides, what I gather from myself, I hear, all that have attended his Highness this campaign agree, that he is pleased with the life, both the fatigue and the dangers he meets with, which have great effects upon the soldiers kindness to him, and must cost him but little, if it be true what the Ministers say, that he believes the point of predestination the firmest that ever any body did, and laughs at any of them that speak modestly of it.

All these points look dangerous to the peace. Now those that look favourable, are, the general dispositions of the towns here, upon the point of trade; the jealousy of our getting into a possession of it too far to be retrieved; and, underhand, of the Prince's growing too far into the sole influence upon the State: the revolt of Messina, which, if it grows higher, and the contagion should reach Naples, as well as other parts of Sicily, (as is discoursed here,) would make Spain glad to secure those parts, by the exposing of Flanders a little more than they would otherwise be content to do: and, lastly, the engaging of Sweden in the party of France by open action (since the agreements between them are no longer, I think, a secret any where), which might change the scene in the affairs of Germany. I know

not what to say to the talk here, that runs privately (but among persons of the State), of the conspiracy of Prince Lobkowitz, and others at Vienna, having reached as far as the Emperor's life; or, of the sharp resentments of that Court against France, upon such pretences. But I look for all the difficulties that can be given the peace from thence, upon several regards which I have formerly touched, and am still as apprehensive of as before, by what I hear from all hands.

I thought it not unnecessary to mention all these points, that his Majesty might have the fullest light towards the first steps he shall make in this matter, after the acceptance of his mediation from all parts, and the answer he hath received from the Prince to his last letter upon this subject. And though perhaps his Majesty may not think fit to signify upon what terms he would have the peace made, as the Prince hath desired him; yet, since some ground to work upon will be expected from his Majesty, it may not be amiss to say, that upon such or such terms his Majesty hath some hopes of inducing France to an agreement, and leave the draught of them with the Prince of Orange, whose answer upon it will give, at least, some entrance into this negotiation. I am ever, and very unfeignedly, my Lord, your, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord, Hague, December 4, N. S. 1674.

THE unkindness I complained of from your Lordship, in giving me no knowledge beforehand of my Lord Latimer's journey, has been by his Lordship fully made amends for since: when upon his arrival he was so kind as to come straight away to my house, as to his own, and use it so, as he at least makes me believe; which I shall, I am sure, love him for, as

long as I live, and serve him as far as I shall ever be able, both for your Lordship's sake, and for his own. I waited upon his Lordship to the Prince, who received him not only well, but kindly; and, I am sure, will use him so while he stays in this country. I knew the other * two Lords had no need of any introduction, though they were pleased to desire it, and therefore, by agreement between us, it was excused; and the two conferences they have had with his Highness have been without my intervention, or any other part, than what my Lord Chamberlain has since given me. By all I yet know, there is nothing deeper in this business, than what your Lordship was pleased to tell me so frankly, and so kindly in the letter I had the honour of receiving by my Lord Latimer; for which I return your Lordship my very hearty acknowledgments, as I am sure becomes me: and I may say very truly, that the lights you pleased to give me there were more than I have yet received any other way: for though I am told the main errand of the journey to be the same, as I received it from your Lordship; yet I hear nothing of a letter from the Prince to Monsieur Odyke having given a rise to it; and, if your Lordship had not told me so, I should be apt to doubt it, and to believe that other circumstances must have had their part in the first conception of this matter. I find by the Prince, as well as my Lord Chamberlain, that what your Lordship says only, you believe, is true, of their having no powers or instructions written, but a credential as ample and honourable as can be. And upon the first part that was given us hither of this intended journey, I remember the Prince told me, what your Lordship says with more ground, that he was sure Monsieur Ruvigni had his part in it. For what your Lord-

* Lord Arlington and Earl of Ossory.

ship says of these two Lords acquaintances and interests so great with the Prince having occasioned the choice of their persons, all I know is, that if they doubted it, they did well to try; because friends that have been long asunder, know not how they are together till they meet, especially if they parted last no better than I know some of these did.

Upon the whole, I am of opinion that this business will produce no effect at all, proportioned to the noise it has made both in England and here; and that it may not go much farther than expostulations and compliments on both sides: and, perhaps, if it were upon any great business, the less of both might not be the worse. When I said compliments, I intended not such expressions of kindness as are not meant, but such as are more or greater than there is need of; and if what passes of this kind have no farther end than I know of, I cannot tell whether there has been any great occasion for them; since the Prince cannot say much more, than he has done to me ever since our meeting, of his affection and service to his Majesty. And, on the other side, I take him to be an unmoveable person in all points of what he esteems his own honour and interest, and not to be talked into, or out of any points, where he esteems either of them much concerned.

This is all I can yet say upon this occasion, and may be too much to have troubled your Lordship with, had not you given me the encouragement. If I meet with any thing more important to your Lordship's knowledge, I shall make use of the way you present me by a servant of my Lord Latimer's, and should have been glad your Lordship had sent me a cypher over, which might have been necessary upon some occasions. My wife is your Lordship's most humble servant, and acknowledges the honour of your remembrance; we are both so to my Lady. My son will, I doubt, take notice of us no longer,

having the honour of being absolutely retained in my Lord Latimer's service since his arrival here.

I will add no more to your Lordship's present trouble, besides the assurance, that the confidence your Lordship is pleased to use me with shall never be forgotten, nor undeserved, as far as lies in the reach of so much sincereness and passion, as that wherewith I have always professsed myself, my Lord, your, &c.

To the King.

May it please your Majesty, Hague, Dec. 4, N. S. 1674.

I RECEIVED so great an honour by a letter which my Lord Chamberlain brought me from your Majesty, that I am sure I shall never forget it, whether I live to deserve it or no. Though his Lordship might justly have pretended to my services here, from the friendship between us; yet I hope your Majesty believes your commands are so sacred to me, as to need no help from my inclinations to make them obeyed: and therefore I shall only say, that if his Lordship fails of any assistances or services that I can give him here, it shall be his own fault; since I resolve to go on as I have begun, in desiring from him the knowledge in what manner, and to what degree, he would use them. I esteem this journey of so great persons, and so much my friends, the best fortune, and most honour that could have befallen me in this place; and hope the success of it will be whatever your Majesty proposed to yourself by it: and beg your Majesty to believe, that so your business be well done, and your Majesty grow as great and as happy as I wish you, I shall have nothing left to ask for myself, by whose services soever that be atchieved.

The two conferences my Lord Chamberlain hath had with the Prince have passed, by concert between his Lordship and me, without my interven-

tion, or having had other part in them than what his Lordship has since given me. All the light I have offered to give to a person that knows his way so well, hath been only my opinion not to go too far in expostulations: for, besides what I know of the Prince's nature in that point, I have observed them apt to end well between lovers, but ill between friends.

The knowledge of all worth your Majesty's trouble from hence will, I know, be transmitted from my Lord Chamberlain; and leave me no other part, than that of my humble acknowledgments upon the confidence your Majesty has been pleased to express of me in so great occasions; and the plain offers of that very sincere devotion wherewith I am, and shall ever be, your Majesty's most loyal subject, and most obedient humble servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, December 21, N. S. 1674.

Upon a long conference yesterday with the Deputies of the States, I agreed, in the first place, upon the instrument for continuing the marine treaty of 1668, until the expiring of the time appointed for the exchange of the ratifications of the last treaty concluded at London; wherein I have pursued his Majesty's commands transmitted to me in your last, without reasoning at all upon them.

The instrument will, I hope, be signed before the closure of this dispatch; and the publication of it made immediately here, as the notice of it is already sent to the Admiralties of the several Provinces. After our agreement upon this matter, we fell upon the several heads transmitted to me from the Commissioners of Plantations, upon the affair of Surinam. I obtained, in the first place, that new orders shall be sent to the Governor there, by the person

to go along with the Advice yacht, and containing the very words transmitted to me in the last paper; with the addition only, of using no threats to such as desire to stay; which I find my Lord Chamberlain, as well as I, understands to be agreeable to his Majesty's intentions.

In the next place, I gained the consent of all the Deputies, excepting him of Zealand, that his Majesty should send a man-of-war to convoy the three fly-boats, and lie out in the river till they were ready to return. And though the Deputy of Zealand would not absolutely consent, without the communication of the other Deputies of his province; yet he gave me reason to be confident the thing would be yielded to; though it passed with very much contest; not upon any jealousy, as they pretended, of his Majesty's good and fair intentions; but of such persons as might be employed in the execution of them; and thereupon would have entered into greater complaints of Major Bannister than he made of them, but that I cut them off as no part of my business.

After this, we fell upon the heads of the orders desired for the Commissioners his Majesty intended to send. Upon the second article they insisted, to have our riding in their rivers and creeks, and moving from place to place, to be with consent of their Governor. But I found this expedient, to have it only with his communication; which words are added to it upon the third article. The Deputy of Zealand affirming, that it sometimes happened, that there was so great a scarcity of some sorts of provisions, that they had not enough for the use of the colony; we added these words, that they might buy them at the usual rates, *en telle quantité que cela n'incommoderoit pas la colonie.* Upon the twelfth article we agreed, that it should be reciprocal on our side as well as theirs. All the rest we agreed

in our own words; except the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth, which run all upon the same foot. Nor could I obtain them, after all our debates; but, on the other side, the Pensioner Fagel was peremptory, and positive in it, that they could not possibly be agreed to: and that, not only because there was no ground for them in the article of our last treaty, but because, he said, the States themselves, or at least those which are called so here, as representing the States, have not the power to do it, or to alter the course of judicature amongst any of their subjects: as for example, not to order men to be tried, in any cases of contract or debt, before any others, besides the usual and constituted judicature of the place; not to force any man to accept of another creditor, than him to whom he had lent his money; not to force any man to accept of land or houses in payment of money he had lent; and so the other matters relating to the rest of those fore-mentioned articles. And these points they argue to be not only out of the power of the States, but contrary to the known constitutions of the civil law, from many common-places not necessary to repeat. All they offer upon these points is only, in the first place, to order the accomplishment in full of the words of the article in the last treaty; whereby it was agreed, his Majesty's subjects there should be tied to no other rules and laws, in points of buying, selling, or commutation of goods, than what were practised among all the other inhabitants of that colony; but should in all points of civil justice have the same privileges with the rest. In the next place, they offered to give order to certain Commissioners of their own, to assist any of his Majesty's, with the utmost of their power, towards the disposing any parties concerned in any such debts, to adjust them, either by exchange of the said debts for others, or by taking satisfaction from

them in lands or goods; so they might be agreed by the consent of the parties concerned. But if that could not be done, they could not force their subjects, nor deny them the right of having recourse to the justice of the place for the final determination of all such matters. And in this they were unmoveable, as a thing out of their power. And, on the other side, I told them, what they offered was not at all what I could accept of: so that I had nothing to do, but to represent it to his Majesty, and pursue the orders I should thereupon receive. In the mean time, I am assured that the orders necessary to the Advice yacht shall be in my hands before the closing of this pacquet. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To the King.

Hague, Jan. 22, N. S. 1675.

May it please your Majesty,

SINCE my last, I heard of a long letter, come hither from the Count d'Estrades to the late Pensioner of Maestricht; by whose intervention the said Count at first began, and hath since managed, a secret correspondence here with the Pensioner Fagel, and, by his conveyance, with the Prince. I gave your Majesty some former notices of it by your Secretaries; and I find that since that time it has run coldly, and most upon a treaty of commerce, and a cartel of prisoners. But, hearing this last letter run into things more general, I fell into the discourse of it with the Pensioner Fagel yesterday; and, at last, engaged him to send me a copy of the letter, which he confessed to have by him; but that the Prince had the original. I caused it to be transcribed immediately, and send it your Majesty inclosed. Upon the whole, I find the Pensioner fixed, that this State must venture all, rather than quit their allies; but, for what concerns themselves, not only desirous,

but impatient for a peace. For the match proposed in the Count's letter, I find him little inclined to it; but very much to that of England. Upon this talk I asked him, whether he had not heard of another, between the King of Spain and Mademoiselle. He confessed he had, and seemed to wonder at this in the letter; because he thought the advice of the other came the same way, though not directly. I asked him, what he thought of the match with Spain? And when he said a great deal of wishing and applauding it, upon the condition of France's endowing her with the conquests of Flanders; I told him, he had reason; and that the State might very well give a Queen's portion to have the match and the peace made upon those terms. He confessed it, and said at last, *Je me fais fort de faire donner deux cent mille Jacobus à cette condition;* and when I said, they might very well undertake for Spain's giving as much more, we ended this conversation.

I thought it became me to give your Majesty knowledge of what passed; and only to say upon it, that, in my weak opinion, this were an adventure worthy of your Majesty's atchievement; by which alone, in all present appearance, the peace of Christendom may be restored; by which France may come out of the war with honour, and Spain with safety: by which your Majesty leaves a niece with one of the greatest Crowns of Christendom on her head; by which you may draw a mighty treasure into your purse; and by which, after the applauses of all the world abroad, and all your subjects at home, upon a peace whereby Flanders is secured, your Majesty will have glory and ease attend all the rest of your life. And so I leave it to your Majesty's thoughts, and beg your justice in believing me your Majesty's, &c.

I beg of your Majesty the inclosed copy may be secret, whether it be useful or no.

To the King.

Hague, Jan. 29, N. S. 1675.

May it please your Majesty,

Upon the discourses with the Pensioner, of which I gave your Majesty an account in my last, the Prince took occasion to enter with me upon the same subject, just upon his leaving the town. He spoke of it, with great hopes that your Majesty would fall in with such a project of the peace; with confidence, that you might most certainly and easily effect it, if you pleased; and with despair of seeing it brought about any other way. Upon my mention of money in general, he said, that should not fail: and upon my raising difficulties, of France quitting so many conquered places, though upon consideration of such a match; he said, if all would not be consented to, he believed it might be done upon those that were most necessary to the security of Flanders. That he knew so much of the condition of France, as to believe they would be glad of a peace, if they could have it with honour, which this would give them; and that, however, he was sure they would not refuse it your Majesty, if they saw you desired it. He spoke of it as a thing that would give him assurance of your Majesty's impartialness in the general affair; of your good meaning to his Highness, and the safety of these countries; and of that which would make way for the firmest and closest measures between you for ever after. He desired me to write of it personally to your Majesty, and to give him immediately an account of what answer I received; which makes me give your Majesty more trouble than I should have presumed to do, upon any other occasion; and take notice of it to no other hand, till I receive your Majesty's command

upon it, what I shall say to the Prince. I confess, I took it for a scheme of great honour, happiness, and ease to your Majesty. And if you should effect it, and after a general peace fall into those close measures with the Prince and this State, which my Lord Chamberlain so much discoursed of here, I should not despair of seeing them brought to give your Majesty, upon a defensive league, a clause of guaranty upon all quarrels you might have by your right to the flag: which would be certainly the way to give your Majesty an undisputed possession of what hath been hitherto a disputed claim, and thereby leave to your Majesty's Crown and reign the greatest glory that hath arrived to any of your ancestors.

I had troubled your Majesty with this by last post; but that hearing something more had passed in the Maestricht correspondence, I resolved first to speak with the Pensioner Fagel; which I could not do till Sunday. He told me, there was another letter come from the Count, and all the arguments that could be used to draw this State off from the measures with the House of Austria, and into the old ones with France; and that, besides all other advantages of trade, it was proposed to give them a port in the Mediterranean upon the coast of Italy. But upon the whole he said, they could not leave their allies; discoursed much of the forces they should have next campaign, of the little appearance to make a peace, at present, any other way, than by the project mentioned; and concluded, that if all success failed, so as their allies should break into separate treaties, he doubted not but they could take better measures with France than any of the rest.

I humbly beg your Majesty's pardon for these troubles; and your acceptance of that devotion and truth, wherewith I am, and shall ever be, Sir,

your Majesty's most loyal and most obedient subject and servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, Feb. 22, N. S. 1675.

SINCE my last, I have received yours of the 5th, which brought me a copy of the most Christian King's answer to his Majesty, upon the proposal of Meurs for the place of congress, and his Majesty's commands how to proceed farther with the States in this matter. The best account I can give you of my obeying them will be by the inclosed memorial; which being the first I have put in to the States upon the subject of his Majesty's mediation, I thought might be fit to trouble you with; that so I might know, whether, being left so much at large in this commission, the conceptions I have upon it agree as they ought to do with those of his Majesty, both as to the main scope, and as to the manner and circumstances of proceeding in it. One of the great ones, and most to be considered, I take to be that of persuading the confederates, that his Majesty is as impartial as a mediator ought to be, in the conduct of this affair; and therefore you will find this design run through the whole contexture of this memorial: the rest is, I hope, just what his Majesty commanded me to pursue upon the point of Nimeguen, and the instances as strong as I could make them; and may not possibly be less successful for the Pensioner's absence, if the States think fit to come to a resolution upon it without his communication; which I may yet know before the closure of this letter: in the mean time, I shall give you the state, as well as I can, of the Swedish mediation, in answer to the latter part of your letter, and your commands of doing all by concert or communication with him.

Hitherto he has always brought or sent me copies of all the memorials he has put in upon the subject of his Master's mediation, within a day or two after he delivered them; but without any communication before of what they imported; though they have been many, since he knew and complimented me upon his Majesty's mediation being accepted by all parties. I have observed the same course with him, and still give him part of what passed at the conferences between me and the States Deputies upon the same subject; and we live in all points the best and the friendliest that can be together. But upon the whole matter, I take his Majesty's mediation, and that of the Crown of Sweden, to be different so essentially, as well as in circumstances, that I know not how they can be so absolutely joined as you seem to intimate; nor whether it ought to be endeavoured farther than maintaining the best correspondence that can be with them, and making, as near as we can, the same pace, though separately, in the course of this affair.

For the first; you know when the Swedes mediation began, we, and France, and these States, were all the parties in the quarrel: that during the mediation at Cologn, by an alliance with Spain, the house of Austria came with other Princes to be principals in it: that after this incident, though the Swedish mediation continued, yet it reached no farther in the negotiations of their Ambassadors, than the first parties: and though it was endeavoured (whether it failed upon punctilios, or more important speculations) it is certain that neither the Emperor, nor the Court of Spain have ever yet been induced to accept of that mediation. So that neither they on one side, being refused by some parties, nor the Pope, who will be refused by others, can pretend to make the same figure in

this business as his Majesty does, who is accepted by all.

In the next place; though Monsieur Ehernsteyn has, since his arrival here, very industriously kept up the part of a mediator, by very frequent and voluminous memorials, which he has lately printed altogether; yet they have been considered by the States little farther, than either as general discourses, or declamations upon the theme of peace; or else diligences affected purposely to preserve the figure of mediation in that Crown with this State, while they were at first preparing, and since engaged in open hostility with the Elector of Brandenburgh, one of their allies; for whose defence they knew this State was by treaty obliged to employ all their forces, and come to an open rupture with the invader.

Ever since I came hither, I have been frequently entertained by those of the States, and particularly by the Pensioner, with very sharp complaints of the Swedes towards them, and their open and avowed partiality to France, in the whole course of the mediation. But more of the *deshonnêteté*, as they term it, to continue the offers and paces of mediator, after the treaties formerly concluded with France, their money so openly received, and their hostile march into the Duke of Brandenburgh's country. But after the news of this last adventure, the Pensioner at the head of the States Deputies, in the next conference upon their desires, upon his Majesty's proposing Meurs, told me, the States had at first ordered the same desire to be made to the Swedish Ambassador, but had since resolved that should be omitted, because they could not consider that Crown any longer as mediator, after their being engaged actually in a war with one of their principal allies, and upon measures formerly taken with their enemies.

You know since, how this motion of the Swedish army has been a blind sort of business on both sides; they, on the one side, apprehending the resolute professions of this State to declare open war by sea and land; and not only to engage their confederates, but endeavour it with the Muscovite too, in case they did not retire their forces out of the Brandenburgh country, have seemed of late very irresolute how to go on, or come off from the adventure; and by a middle course of only quartering in his country, but attacking none of his towns, and paying sometimes for what they take, that they might not be said to live wholly at discretion, as in an enemy's country; they have seemed to design the giving just so much satisfaction to France, as might preserve their treaties with that Crown; and so little offence to the confederates, as might keep off a general breach with the Emperor, as well as Spain and this State, and perhaps most of the Princes of the Empire too, in conjunction with Denmark.

On the other side, this State, though they have, from the first march of the Swedish troops, declared positively to the Ambassador here, that they would open the war, unless his Master recalled his forces out of the Brandenburgh territories; yet they have delayed it all this while, upon pretence of that resolution's running the circle of all the provinces with some more than usual delay; but in truth, that before they begin an action of such consequence, they may be first assured of their confederates intentions, take their measures with them for beginning, as well as carrying on the war; and in the mean time give Sweden leave to avoid it by recalling their forces. As this matter has played upon these circumstances and dispositions, so you will easily imagine the business of their mediation has sometimes appeared alive, and some-

times dead; and whether it be one or the other, for my part, I cannot tell. For, notwithstanding what the Pensioner told me, as I before mentioned, and what I hear was replied at a conference by the Deputies to the Swedish Ambassadors upon that occasion; yet, I find, he still continues his memorials in the same style, and will, I know, make all the paces imaginable to preserve this figure of mediation as long as can be done.

Now, whether this continue or no; which yet I will formally ask the Pensioner at his return, as you desire; yet, I doubt, for my part, whether it will not weaken the force of his Majesty's mediation (which will chiefly consist in the opinion of its being impartial), to join it openly and formally with that of Sweden; which, whether the war go on or no, will ever be interpreted not only partial to France, but even be managed by the very motions they shall receive from thence. I am ever, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, Feb. 26, N. S. 1675.

I WAS extreme sorry to find by your last of the 9th, that your illness was returned, after I had flattered myself with its having left you, from what your former told me. God send your next may bring me better news of it, which will be welcomer to no body than me. I am very glad to find his Majesty has that proposition still in his thought and endeavour, and hope he will pursue it till it falls one way or other: for, in all business of public or private concernment, I have always thought the best rule is, as in hunting, one thing at a time; and see the end of it before another begins. I am very proud to find his Majesty's opinion, as well as yours, agree with what I had at the first upon this business of Guelderland: it is now over; but the

smart of it will not wear off, without further time; and bending the stick a contrary way, must make it right. I think his Majesty, for his own sake, as well as the Prince's, has reason to be of the mind he is, in this matter; for all offers of that kind lose us as many friends in this country, as they gain to France; and it was a common voice of Amsterdam, that they had better be under the subjection of that Crown, than of an absolute sovereignty at home. In those few days the noise lasted, there was above three hundred thousand pounds drawn out of the bank of Amsterdam; the East India actions fell above thirty, and those upon the Cantores of Holland fell from a hundred to seventy-five, which was five lower than at the most desperate crisis of the last war: which are effects that might amaze such as do not either understand or consider, how much trade, and indeed all government, depends upon opinion.

The Prince has, in his letters to the Province of Utrecht, thanked them for their kindness expressed to him in their advice, and fallen very sharp upon those in other provinces, who could ground such suspicions, as they had, upon that occasion; which makes me fear, he does not yet know enough of the temper of his patient, nor how little any sort of rough physic agrees with it. And, let me tell you, between us, that among some younger or warmer heads, they say, our friend has been the chief consulter of this affair; which, for my part, I think, agrees very well with what others say, of his being at heart as much a republican as Monsieur de Witt. For, I am sure, nothing could have given so great a check to any designs of dominion here, as this has done. Whereas, by a course of very popular counsels, with some successes in the war, the States themselves, in some little time, might have been the instruments of increasing the

Prince's authority; or the people might have forced them to it, by their trust and kindness to the Prince, and thereby preferring his government before their own.

I cannot tell you any thing yet, what is like to be done about his Majesty's proposition of Nimeguen for the place of congress; the States having sent it to the Prince, as I had done at the same time I put in my memorial to them. I have pressed it both with his Highness and here, as the only way of meeting: but, after all, I am apt to think the campaign will begin before the treaty, and the events of one will be governed by those of the other. I believe, the method of the next action will be, to have the Emperor's army act either by itself, or in conjunction only with that of the circles; and for the Brandenburgh and Lunenburgh troops to fall in as auxiliaries only to the Prince of Orange; who shall command alone, and upon occasion of a siege or a battle, receive other auxiliary troops likewise from the Duke de Villa Hermosa; who will live in the best intelligence, and, I believe, with very great deference, to his Highness, in the councils and actions of the campaign.

I write you particular things, which go no other way; but such as I imagine his Majesty, as well as you, may be content to know. I am ever, &c.

To my Lord Chamberlain.

My Lord, Hague, March 22, N. S. 1675.

I HAVE newly received yours of the 8th current, and rejoice with you upon your journey to Huston, where I wish you the health and satisfaction you propose to yourself, and which is necessary both to the service of our Master, and to the contentment of your friends. What you wonder so much at, both as to the Prince's saying, you had given

him no answer to what he proposed to you about the peace; and as to my suffering him to say it; I must tell you, that I very well remember what you writ to me about Monsieur Ruvigni's scheme of that matter; and I told it the Prince, whether you writ to him or no. But his Highness never took that for any answer to what he had advanced to you, at your being here; which, he says, was not to France, nor to know their mind upon it, but his Majesty's. Therefore the answer the Prince expected upon it, was, to know whether his Majesty thought that proposal, or something near it, a reasonable ground for such a peace as his Majesty judged safe and lasting: and, whether his Majesty would thereupon endeavour it with France, while his Highness did the same with the confederates. If his Majesty should be of this mind, then the Prince expected he would propose it to France, and signify their answer upon it: if that should be just what Monsieur Ruvigni sticks at, and no appearance of growing less, I suppose, in plain terms, the treaty ends before it begins, and is not to begin again till the campaign ends. This, at least, is my opinion; and that, whatever the success of the one side, and disasters of the other, have been the last year; yet the confederates will rather throw away the sheath, and buckle again to war, than take a peace upon such terms, before they are absolutely beaten into it.

I have, upon Mr. Secretary Williamson's order, at two conferences, desired of the States to propose a plan to his Majesty, upon which, or near it, they think their allies will consent to the peace. By next post, you will see it from them in writing; in the mean time, I may tell you, it will be much such another on the one side, as Monsieur Ruvigni's on the other: and so must all be, that comes this open way from the States. Nor should I have

desired it, but by Mr. Secretary's orders, or expected an issue from any thing here in this kind, but what first is privately concerted between his Majesty and the Prince.

What the States will do, as to interposing for Prince William of Furstenburgh, I know not; but I hear it talked among the foreign Ministers, that the Emperor will not part with him, unless a peace be made; and, in that case, he will oblige himself to give him his liberty, and pardon him. I have very good reason to believe the Swedish Ambassadors, both at Paris and here, make it their business to hinder the congress at Nimeguen, by throwing in this incident, as well as otherways, and stomach his Majesty's being left the sole mediator, by their being so formally rejected; as well as having obtained this point from the States, after their having failed of Breda so long contended for. However, Monsieur Ehernstein and I live the best that can be together; which I do, not only by his Majesty's command, but by my own disposition too, having visited him four or five times, and communicated all that has passed in his Majesty's mediation, since he has stirred out of his chamber, where he has lain sick either of the gout, or of trouble, since he is grown, as he calls it, *tout à fait inutile:* and, I think, indeed, I never saw a more dejected man than he has been upon this occasion.

For my own part, I think you have ended your Indian treaty the best you could: and you know very well, I ever told you, the State here would break, rather than come up to what our merchants (or the contrivers of some unkindness between the nations) resolved at first to ask, and have since stood upon just as you say, either to have all they asked, or nothing. Nor do I believe there will be much use of the commissioners to decide the quarrels of

the Companies, when other quarrels are not intended on one side or the other. I am ever, &c.

To the King.

Hague, March 22, N. S. 1675.

May it please your Majesty,

I HAVE this day received the honour of a letter from your Majesty of the 5th, for which I return my humble acknowledgments, and esteem it much the greater, for having been written upon a subject, which I knew your Majesty would not treat otherwise than in confidence; being, indeed, a very tender point, and which touches the strings; upon the good or ill tuning whereof very much of your Majesty's greatest concerns at this time depends. I will confess that I was extremely surprised to read what your Majesty says has been whispered to you, concerning an intended journey of the Prince this spring into England; and I should be extremely ashamed to be found ignorant here of a matter of such consequence, that were known so far off. I have very little belief of infallibility, and less of no man's than my own: but I am as confident as I can be of having any of my five senses about me, that the Prince has never had yet one thought of such a journey this season; unless it had happened that the peace had been absolutely made, which he has not lately had much reason to hope for; and for the present, I believe, he thinks no more of a journey to London, than to Venice: nor indeed of any thing, but how to get out of this war with a little honour and safety; towards which, I am confident, he reckons upon pleasing your Majesty as a much better and nearer way, than disobliging you in any kind.

This is my opinion, and I have not yet been out

in any of my calculations here. But because I cannot reckon any thing to be neglected, that deserves your Majesty's thoughts, I will, at my first seeing the Prince upon his return (which is expected after to morrow), let him know that I hear such a thing has been whispered to your Majesty, and how I conceive it must be understood: and will, upon this occasion, talk it to the bottom, if I find it needs, either from what I meet in his discourse upon it, or can observe from his countenance. But if I find it wholly as I expect, without any manner of ground, I shall, with your Majesty's leave, neither shew him your letter, nor speak of it as a thing your Majesty believed, or reflected upon. And of all this I hope to give your Majesty an account by the next.

I can easily imagine what errand the whisperers of this story must have pretended, to give such a journey of the Prince about the time of the Parliament's sitting: and I will not answer for Monsieur Van Beuninghen's busy talk at such a season; though he may have as little thanks for it here, as for all he has lately entered into of his own head with Monsieur Ruvigni. But I should be very sorry to serve your Majesty in this figure, upon a scene where any motions should arise towards the discomposing your Majesty's affairs, either at home or abroad, or those measures you shall think fit to hold in a point so material to the happiness of your reign. And, on the contrary, I am pretty confident, that I could prevail both with the Prince and the State here, as to all that concerns themselves, to refer the business of the peace wholly to your Majesty, not as a mediator only, but as absolute arbiter, and without thinking of any other recourse, but to your Majesty's personal dispositions, and judgment of what you esteem safe for them and their neighbours. And, if the point of honour, and thereby, indeed, of interest, were not in it, not to abandon their al-

lies, to whom they owe their own preservation, and are tied by so many treaties; I doubt not but I should be able to send your Majesty such a scheme from hence before I am a week older.

If my opinions are right, and your Majesty be so safe and so easy here, as I believe; it will then be possibly worth your Majesty's observing from what quiver this arrow came, and whether there be no poison in it, that you may know the hand another time. If I am mistaken, and there was reason for such a suspicion, your Majesty, I am sure, has a very ignorant Ambassador here, and who has lost the talent of serving you with the success as formerly attended him; though, I am sure, he has lost none of that hearty zeal, wherewith he has been, and shall be ever, Sir, your Majesty's most faithful, &c.

To the King.

Hague, March 25, N. S. 1675.

May it please your Majesty,

In pursuance of what I writ last post, I waited on the Prince yesterday at his return, and took occasion to tell him what I heard had been whispered to your Majesty about his intended journey this spring into England, without taking notice of having heard any thing of it from your Majesty. The Prince told me he knew very well what must be the meaning of such a report: that he was very sorry to see some persons about you resolved to do him all ill offices to your Majesty, and endeavour to make things ill between you, let his carriage be what it will: that, for his part, he would never deserve it, but he knew not how to help people's talk: they might say if they would, That a cow could catch a hare; but he did not know why any body should believe it. I interrupted him, and said he might be confident your Majesty would be the last

to believe any thing of his Highness's ill intentions towards you in any kind: and that, I was sure you believed nothing of this, whatever had been told you: that he knew very well, how glad your Majesty would be at all times to see him; but that it might be at some times inconvenient to you both, and therefore your Majesty was confident, that whenever he had any thoughts of it, the first thing he would do, would be to acquaint you with it, and know your opinion and your pleasure upon it. The Prince replied, that he would be sure to do so whenever there was occasion, but hitherto there had been none: that, it was true, when my Lord Arlington was here, they talked sometimes of his going into England this spring, in case the peace were made; or that if it were so far advanced, as to let him see it would be done, he should have been content to go and conclude it in England: but this was only talked at their being here, and that my Lord Arlington had first begun it, and put him upon these thoughts: that, since that time, he had never thought more of it: and that I can tell very well, as affairs went, if he had the greatest mind in the world to go, he could not; and that, if he could, he was sure he should never think of it without first asking your Majesty's leave, and knowing that you liked it. With that he said in some heat, 'Would to God none about the King had worse intentions to his service than I have: but if he will not believe me, what can I do? I would be very glad to see the King, and have but too much reason to desire it; but I have something else to do at this time, than to think of such journeys.'

I tell your Majesty, as just as I can, his own words; by which you will best judge of his meaning: and upon this I told his Highness, I was very glad I was not mistaken in him; for, upon hearing what had been told your Majesty upon this subject, I had

written to you the last post; and thereupon repeated some of the assurances I had given you, both of his never having had any such thing in design, and of his duty and intentions towards your Majesty being in all points what became him. The Prince told me, he was very much beholden to me for it; and swore he would always make my words good, and that he would never deceive you.

May it please your Majesty,

I had written thus far in the morning, and thought I had very little to add; but, about one o'clock afternoon, the Prince came to me, and sent for me out of my closet, where I was locked up. When I came to him, he made me excuses, at first, in good humour enough; but, suddenly changing countenance, he told me he had received a letter from my Lord Arlington that he could not but come and shew me; for he knew not, for his part, what to say to it, nor what he meant by it: thereupon he read it all to me; and, upon that part which concerned his journey into England, he said, 'His Lordship knew well enough how far that was ever thought of, for he was the first that put me upon it.' Then he went on, and read a long period in cypher, that began about Du Moulin's being still about him, and fomenting the designs of engaging the Parliament this next sitting in the affairs of France; telling him thereupon, his Highness knew best, whether such friendships were to be relied on, that were made *à coups de bâtons:* and that he knew very well, there were discontents here, as well as in other places, and that *si on les touchoit, on les pourroit faire saigner encore.* I repeat the words as near as I can remember, because I know not whether this was written or no by your Majesty's communication or command: and the Prince reading it with some

stammering upon the interlining of the cypher, and yet with a good deal of emotion, I will not answer for every word; but I am sure I am right in the gross, upon reading the last words, *on les pourroit faire saigner.* The Prince said, he understood this very well; for it was the same with what my Lord Arlington told Monsieur Reed in England; that if the King would go about it, he could make him be served as Monsieur de Witt was: then he swore in a rage, that he could not bear this language from my Lord Arlington, nor live any longer with him as he had done: that, under profession of friendship, and of dealing plainly with him, he saw very well, that he did him all the mischief he could; and that he could bear it no longer. When I told the Prince, that what my Lord Arlington writ, was upon what others had said, and endeavoured to make your Majesty believe; he said, No, he believed it was my Lord Arlington himself; and that he had made his brother Odyke hinder Du Moulin's going to Surinam, on purpose that he might still have that pretext of doing him ill offices to your Majesty: that, however, if he had been such a friend as he pretended, whenever any body else offered at doing him such ill offices to your Majesty, my Lord Arlington, that knew his intentions so well, should have given them the lie, and have answered to your Majesty for him, and not gone away himself with the belief of them, or writ him such impertinent language upon no manner of grounds: then he wished he might die on the place, if he, or any man he knew here, had the least thoughts of making any intrigues with the Parliament, or offering at any sorts of application to them; or if ever he had thought or done any thing in the war itself, that deserved any such language as this. But then he stopt, and said, he would write to my

Lord Arlington what was fit to be said to such a letter: but he would write to your Majesty too; and desired me I would convey it to you, so as it might be delivered you in private; for, unless he could enter into a personal confidence with your Majesty, he knew not how to live with you, for he knew not which of your Ministers he could trust, since my Lord Arlington used him after this manner. I promised his Highness to convey his letter to you: and, after a great deal of passion vented, and with all the professions imaginable, not only of his own innocence, but that no man should dare do any thing against your Majesty's service whilst he had any power, he left me. And I thought it my duty to give your Majesty this bare account of all that passed, which I thought of so great concernment.

What is so to your Majesty's, will ever make me lose all other regards. I told your Majesty, at my coming away, I would depend upon none but yourself: when that fails, I know the way to my garden again. In the mean time, you shall be served with the sincere and particular devotion that becomes, Sir, your Majesty's most loyal and most obedient subject and servant.

To the Governor and Company of Merchant Adventurers.

Sir, Hague, March 26, N. S. 1675.

I RECEIVED not long since a kind letter from you, in the name of the Company of Merchant Adventurers of England, and should be very glad to deserve the good opinion you therein express of me, and of my good intentions towards the service of your company, in its just pretensions here. It would be an honour to me, during my present embassy, to retrieve them, after what happened to

their prejudice before my last arrival; as it was one to me in my last embassy to reprieve them, which, I think, indeed, I may wholly attribute to myself. I am sure, no man can be a greater servant and well-wisher to all designs of advancing the trade of our nation, than I; nor, consequently, to the prosperity of your company, and of the city of London, where it resides, and where I esteem it an honour to have been born. But as to the particular branches of it, especially this at Dort, I dare not take upon me to judge, how much the establishment of it in its former constitutions imports the advancement of our trade; because his Majesty and council seem to have put some discountenance upon that opinion, by the liberty or connivance given, for so many years past, to the interloping trade; which makes it look as if the present interest of your company here were no more than the bare interest of some few merchants habituated at Dort, and their enjoyments of certain exemptions, which are considerable, perhaps, to their domestic and personal concernments, but very little so to the woollen trade of the nation, in which they have but a very small share, in proportion to what the interlopers drive.

I may have leave to say, that in what transactions have passed through my hands upon this subject, during my last and present embassy, I have gone to the bottom of this affair, and seen by what springs it has moved: and being a very plain man, I will deal so with you in this matter, and tell you, that I believe the discouragements given to your company in England by the liberties allowed to the interloping trade, both at first raised, and have ever since fomented, the ill talent that you know has been borne to it for several years by this province of Holland: for, as to the rest of the provinces, they have none at all against you. I believe the bottom of it here

is, that they see plainly, whatever privileges are allowed your company at Dort will be given by the other towns, either openly or covertly, to all those interlopers who bring their woollen manufacture directly thither; and in this, the very States themselves cannot hinder what each town will do for their own particular advantage. And the effect they apprehend from this, is, a general increase of the imported manufactures from England, and thereby a proportionable decay of their own; upon which the interest of this province very much turns: so that I have had it said to me, almost in plain terms by the Pensioner here, that if the King will forbid the interloping trade, and restore your company to its full rights and privileges from his Majesty, they will do the same to all they have formerly enjoyed from the States.

When I have said this, I have told you all I know in your affair, the States General having deferred their answer to my memorial till the representations upon it shall come from the States of Holland: but I have not told you all I suspect; which is, that in the present state of your company in England, it will be very difficult to restore it to the former state here, both from what I have already said, and from the constitution of this government; by which it is very easy to prevent a resolution of the States in any such matter, because the engaging of one town in a province, or of one province in the States, may do that: but, on the contrary, it is very hard to revoke a resolution passed, because the consent of all is necessary.

Upon this, you will best judge what reflections, as well as what paces, to make in your business. And, for my part, as my duty must ever engage my obedience to whatever commands I receive from his Majesty upon this matter, so my inclinations will always improve it, all that may be, to the service

of your company, which bears, at least, the name of our nation and commerce, though many would have it believed that neither of them are much concerned in it. I am very much so, in the good-will and opinion of so worthy and honourable a society; which I desire you to let them know, and how much I shall, upon all occasions, endeavour to observe them; being to them, and to yourself, Sir, an affectionate humble servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, April 16, N. S. 1675.

I AM to acknowledge yours of the 30th past, but cannot take upon me to justify or to clear any part of that paper given me by the States, concerning the terms of a peace: they would have been glad to have been excused from doing it at all; and when it was done, were glad it was off their hands; and, I suppose, have thought little of it, either before or since. I pressed them to it, because you were pleased to press me; but knew very well, it could be nothing but a piece of form, and that the secret hinges of such an affair could not turn before forty people, but must fasten first between his Majesty and the Prince, and then pass the forms of the States. His Highness is now perfectly well, has been up, and ate flesh these four or five days, and shifted to-day; so that his life may be reckoned much safer than it has been these seven years. The stories, you say, are much wondered at there, of his having been visited by the foreign Ministers, and others, every day in his sickness, were so far from having any ground, that there were but four people, besides the physicians, that ever went to him; which were, Rhindgrave, Monsieur Odyke, Monsieur Overkirke, and Monsieur Bentinck, of which the two last were all that watched with him

a-nights in turns; and indeed I never knew any sickness of a great man so well governed as his; for you know how apt they are, upon these occasions, to be endangered by the officious exercise of too much care and skill. Mr. Skelton and Mr. Ashton arrived here on Sunday, and delivered their letters that night; but the Prince excused seeing them in two or three days, so as they are gone to Amsterdam. The Elector of Brandenburgh will, I hear, come hither, either the end of this week or beginning of next; and I hear for a secret, that the two Dukes of Lunenburgh, that is, Cell and Osnaburgh, will be here too at the same time, upon an interview with the Prince, in which the Marquis de Grana intervenes from the Emperor, to agree upon the measures of this next campaign. The Danish Ministers have received the money or the greatest part of it, agreed by their late treaty to be paid them before they take the field; that is, the whole quota of Spain, amounting to 85,000 M. crowns, is paid by Don Emanuel de Lyra, and the quota of Holland and Zealand is likewise paid; but whether they will immediately break with Sweden, or stand upon this State's doing it first, or at the same time, I cannot tell; or whether this State will go so high or no.

I have one from you by Monsieur de Bas, who shall want no assistance I can give him here. I have likewise a letter from his Majesty, countersigned by you, in favour of the Elizabeth, a ship taken upon the same pretence with the Rebecca, concerning which I wrote in my last, and desired the declaration of his Majesty's understanding that article to include the trading from enemy's to enemy's ports: when this is done, I hope to retrieve these two ships, if the owners are not wanting to themselves in attending the prosecution. I am ever, Sir, your most faithful humble servant.

To Sir William Lockhart.

My Lord, Hague, April 18, N. S. 1675.

I AM obliged to your Excellency for the favour of one of the 5th past, with the account of your ill usage on that side, in point of your letters; which, methinks, does not agree very well with the good intelligence between our two Courts, deserving more confidence, and fairer appearances, as far as I understand. Your Lordship knows best the ways of redressing it, though the loss or delay of my letters hardly deserve that care.

The tumult at Bourdeaux was, in my opinion, very prudently appeased; though I know not whether the success or example of such an adventure may not stir humours, or raise hopes of the same kind in other great towns. I confess, as much as I have read and thought, makes me of opinion, that those governments are safest and happiest for those that govern, which are easiest for them that obey; and which engage subjects to love and support them by the opinion they shall lose by any change. And the contrary of this might be possibly felt in France itself, if ever they should meet with a misfortune from abroad: but that is very unlikely from the present prospect of their own great force and wise conduct, compared with the ill concert and ill success of their enemies; and the last is like to continue as long as the first, which, you know, is natural to all confederacies. Yet, whoever goes to sea, or to war, runs a venture, which is all I shall say of matters out of my way and my reach; and not trouble you with the great things said here by the Marquis de Grana, of his Master's army this year like to act under Montecuculi in Alsatia. All the news I can tell your Lordship from hence, is, the safety of the Prince; whose illness has passed without the

least ill sign or accident; and his carriage in it, with so great equalness of temper, and constancy of mind, though it be not a thing of moment, yet has much confirmed the great opinion I ever had of his personal qualities being very extraordinary. I believe he will be abroad to-morrow, unless he keep in one day to take physic, which he is but hardly persuaded to.

Mr. Skelton and Mr. Ashton came hither on Sunday from the King and Duke upon this occasion of the Prince's illness; but have not yet seen him, and will not return till next week. I am ever with great respect and truth, my Lord, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, August 18, N. S. 1675.

SINCE my return on Sunday last, after a slow passage in very calm weather, I find myself obliged, by the advance you have pleased to make me in your's of the 30th past; which, by bringing me excuses there was no occasion for, hath given me a very just one of making my acknowledgments: this I should do more at large, if I thought the omission of ceremonies were not allowed in an intercourse of business; and were not, indeed, the best manners to a person that hath so great a share as you have always upon your hands.

I have, since my coming hither, performed in two conferences with the Pensioner what I found myself encharged with in the instructions I now brought over; and acquainted him with his Majesty's resolutions concerning the warranty of Flanders, whenever the peace is made, even with a rupture upon any invasion; as likewise the defensive alliance with this State. I valued them both so far, that I left him extremely satisfied with the first, and

not unsatisfied with the other, though it went not up to the height he could have wished, and, as he saith, was in proposal when my Lord Chamberlain was here. He will be ready to fall into the consideration of both these whenever I desire it, which I shall do when his Majesty thinks fit to possess me with the project or heads of them, and to send me further instructions how far to proceed upon them. For the peace, he expresseth still the same disposition towards it in this State, he hath ever done; and the great deference they will always have for the sentiments of his Majesty upon the conditions of it. Though he says, he doubts not but the State will be induced to furnish the expence of another year's war, if France continue the height of their demands, and the success of the German army answer the expectation they have given by the late encounters. He told me he would speak with the Ministers of the confederates here, and acquaint them with the continuance of his Majesty's good dispositions and offices towards the advance of the peace; and endeavour to find, whether any nearer approaches might be made towards it by any new overture they could agree in, and should be content to put it into his Majesty's hands.

I fell afterwards into the discourse of the two points our late marine treaty is still a little lame in; the liberty of trade from enemy's to enemy's port; and the manner of revision. For the first, I found, he did not at all understand where the difficulty lay; and that Monsieur Van Beuninghen had never yet informed the State of the difference he had so long entertained you with there, between concluding the future and the past. After opening the whole matter, and reading at last the declaration as you had drawn it up, I prevailed with him to fall in with it, upon these conditions: that, on our side, it should not extend to any thing that happened before the

last war: and, on their side, it should extend to the release of all taken upon that pretence since the last peace. And the first of these I was easy in, because I knew very well there could be no case that concerned it before the last war, when both we and they were in peace with all our neighbours from the first conclusion of this article in 1668, till the last war began. Hereupon he resolved (though it cannot be absolutely concluded till an assembly of the States of Holland) however, to propose it to the States General, and endeavour to have it agreed by them, under the approbation of the States of Holland at their next assembly, which will be about a month or five weeks hence.

For the point of revision: when I found him constant that the forms of judicature could not be changed here; which did but agree with what you told me concerning ours in the Admiralty there, however the words of the treaty may seem to own; I at first made him sensible of the great inequality in the expences of our revisions and theirs; and thereupon proposed the only expedient I can possibly think of in the case; which is, that instead of seven of the first judges, and eight revisors added to them, according to the present forms, all revisions should be made by three of the first judges, and four revisors joined with them; which reduceth the number from fifteen to seven, and thereby abates one half of the charge. This, I told him, was only an expedient of my own, and which I had not yet offered to the King; but that I would do it, if he would offer it to the States, and with the favour of his own opinion falling in with it. And this we agreed to do on both hands: so that you will please to let me receive his Majesty's opinion upon it, as soon as it may be without trouble; the business of the St. Joseph, and others, depending upon the conclusion of this affair.

I ask your pardon for beginning your trouble of this kind with so much length, and your belief of my being always, Sir, your most faithful humble servant.

To the King.

Hague, Aug. 13, N. S. 1675.

May it please your Majesty,

Since my return to this place, I have had two very long conferences with the Pensioner, which I will not trouble your Majesty with the detail of. The issue was, that though they are grown here into better heart, by the success in Pomerania and upon the Rhine, yet I found him so sensible of the hazard this State runneth in the person of the Prince, and of the advantage they will receive by the guaranty of Flanders, and defensive alliance your Majesty is resolved on with them, in case they come to a peace by your intervention; that he at length fell in so far with what I told him were your Majesty's thoughts upon the conditions of the peace, as to assure me, that he would represent them to the Prince of Orange with all the advantage he could. Besides the difficulties he made about Burgundy, in the consequences of it both to the Emperor and Spain; he fell of himself, with great perplexity, upon that of the Prince's own patrimonial estate in that country; and said, those lands, with Orange, would give him too great a dependance upon France; whereas he desired to see his Highness have all upon England, and none there. Upon the whole, we both concluded that it was a matter which could not be so well deduced to the Prince by letter as by discourse; and that it were best for the Pensioner to find some other pretence of attending his Highness, and as soon as he could. The Pensioner, though he agreed with me in it, yet said, the Prince

was so unwilling he should leave the Hague, that he would not do it without first asking his Highness's leave, which he would do by an express immediately; by whom I writ likewise to the Prince upon the same occasion; but referring all particulars to the Pensioner when he should attend him. We expect a return of this dispatch on Thursday; and whenever it comes, the Pensioner will away the same day, and, in the mean time, start some pretence that may give no jealousy to the confederate Ministers here, with whom we agreed this matter should not take air, but by consent between your Majesty and the Prince. I see more appearance of a peace than a truce; for I find the Pensioner as averse from this last, as inclined to the other. His chief reasons are, that there needs as much negotiation to obtain the one as the other: the charge of a war will not be lessened by a truce; and if the people here fall once into the usual course and security of trading, they will not be prevailed with to return again into the war, though France should insist upon the most unreasonable terms.

For what concerns the Swede, the Pensioner is of opinion that nothing can be negotiated with them, separate from the confederates on both sides; though he saith, a private overture has been made, that in case this State will procure a peace between that Crown and the confederates, Sweden will employ not only their offices, but their forces too, if there be need, to induce France to a peace upon the terms of Aix la Chapelle, with an exchange of Aeth, Charleroy, and Oudenarde, for Aire and St. Omers. Whether this have any ground or no, so much is, I think, out of doubt, that the Swedes have an extreme desire to get out of the war, and into the mediation again, but will, I believe, find difficulties in both. I have entertained Mr. Secretary Williamson by this night's pacquet upon those matters which

were pointed at by my instructions; but thought it became me to trouble your Majesty with the account of such as I had the honour of receiving from your own discourses; and chose this conveyance by the captain of the yacht, as both surer and speedier too, if not hindered by cross tides in the river.

I cannot end this trouble without my humble acknowledgments for that particular confidence wherewith your Majesty hath been pleased to honour me, in my late attendances upon your Majesty in England; and which I am much prouder of, than I could be of any titles or advantages that are the common objects of other mens pursuit and ambition. I assure your Majesty, mine shall never go farther, than to deserve, or at least acknowledge, the honour you are pleased to do me, by all the services of my life, and by the most constant devotion and perfect truth, wherewith I am, and shall be ever, Sir, your Majesty's most loyal and most obedient subject and servant.

To Mr. Sidney.

Sir, Hague, September 3, N. S. 1675.

I WRIT to you from London two or three times, whether acknowledging any of yours or no, I cannot tell; for the thoughts of those common forms enter not into our commerce, farther than to make the coming safe of what is intended between us. Therefore, it is fit to tell you, that I had two from you while I was in England; one by Mr. Greenwood, and the last, of July 21, just before my coming away. I stayed there just seven weeks, which was much longer than was intended when I was sent for, as, I must tell you, I was by the King, though, I think, not above two knew of it; and I was to make my journey a thing of my own desire, and designed for my private occasions; which, you know, I do not

much trouble myself about. The King happened to have no business so much in his head, all the time of my stay, as what turns a good deal upon my hands; and so by falling very often into very long conversations, and privately with me, gave occasion for a great deal of talk both there and abroad, and expectations of some very decisive measures taken upon the business of a peace; which, when all is done, both as to conditions, place, time, and manner of treaty, will depend much upon what shall prove the final event of this campaign. Things have hit something worse of late for the French than before; but the armies, both in Alsatia and Flanders, having been left by our last letters in sight of one another, will tell us how the year, and the hopes of both parties, will end. Before this can come to you, it is likely you will hear the success a shorter way: for I send this by Mr. Lock's conveyance, having found no kind of encouragement to use the French posts between this and Paris; and so intending this for no further intelligence, than of what passes between ourselves; that itself is nothing more, nor like to be, it seems, in haste, than the very needless assurances of what, I know, we both feel at heart, in the continuance and warmth of our kindness and good wishes to one another, wherever we are; and the satisfaction we shall receive in the knowledge of what becomes of us.

There seems not yet any certainty of the congress, and, till then, I suppose, I am fixed here: whenever that happens, it is intended I shall make a part of it, with what company I know not; my Lord Berkley's embassy into France being like enough to break that designation. Mr. Fenwick has my Lord Clare's regiment, and will find advantages here, if he deserve them; being the only Englishman of quality in the Prince's service. I expect you shall be as good as your word in writing some-

times, where you are, how you do, and think to dispose yourself. I never wanted you more than I did all the time I was in England; and never loved you better than I do, and shall do while I live. Sir, yours, &c.

To the King.

Hague, Sept. 6, N. S. 1675.

May it please your Majesty,

The Pensioner came to me upon his return from the camp, and gave me this account of the Prince's answer to the several points I had discoursed to him here. First, that his Highness gave your Majesty humble thanks for the confidence you had used towards him, in letting him know your own thoughts upon the subject of the peace; which he would endeavour to deserve, by communicating all his to your Majesty, upon this and all other matters, as he would do to a father: that he was very glad of the intentions your Majesty expressed, to enter into closer measures with him and this State, which his Highness would promote all that could be on this side; and that he esteemed this a better guaranty for Flanders, than any formal one that could be given upon the peace: and therefore desired, that the project of such an alliance as your Majesty will be content to make with them, may be agreed on as soon as your Majesty pleaseth; though you should not think fit to conclude it formally before the peace, which yet his Highness rather desired; because after, there will be no way of keeping a party in this State from endeavouring to renew their old measures with France; but letting them see they were already taken with England, and their security found with us, which they pretend to by the French.

That for the terms of a peace, the Prince, for his

own part, would be very well content to refer them wholly to your Majesty; but being, with the States, engaged to their confederates by honour and treaties, they were forced, in some measure, to consider what would satisfy them. That he doubted, as things now stood, they would not be induced to a peace, without the terms of Aix la Chapelle, and the restitution of Charleroy, Aeth, and Oudenarde; as absolutely necessary to make some frontier for Flanders. That if France insisted to have the county of Burgundy, it would find more difficulty; and that the Spaniards, but especially the Emperor, put so great weight upon it, that he doubted they would not only expect those three towns, but likewise Tournay, Courtray, Lisle, and Doway.

That the Prince, for his part, rather wished your Majesty would propose the peace upon the first of these plans; wherein, he had very good assurance, you would be seconded by Sweden: but, if you should rather chuse to have Burgundy left to the French, neither his Highness, nor, he believed, the States would make any difficulties upon it. And though he were very sensible of your Majesty's kindness, in the offers concerning his own particular interest there; yet, he assures your Majesty, whatever he hath or may suffer in them, that shall be no sort of hindrance to the peace.

That whatever proposition towards a peace your Majesty shall think fit to make, the Prince desires it may be done, as arising wholly from yourself, without notice of any private intelligence with him: and he thinks, the best way of doing it will be at the congress at Nimeguen; where he doth not believe the French will make any farther difficulty of sending their Ambassadors, when those of your Majesty shall be there; and that the Swedes, as well as the confederates, will certainly send theirs immediately upon it.

This is the sum of the Pensioner's discourse to me from the Prince. And when I told him, that I supposed his Highness meant the restitution of those three places should be made in exchange for Aire and St. Omers, as was spoken of at my Lord Arlington's being here; he told me the Prince mentioned no such thing; and though he confessed what had passed in the winter, yet he thought, as affairs had since changed, France might find reasons to induce them to a peace upon these terms: yet, upon farther argument, he said, that if your Majesty should think fit to propose an exchange at the treaty, he believed the States would not be against it. But he desired, that whatever your Majesty resolved on, might be proposed at the congress; and not be, in the mean time, communicated to Monsieur ——; but, that if your Majesty desired any farther lights from hence, you would please to receive them as you have done these; assuring me, that no person but the Prince and himself had been or should be acquainted with what had passed; and adding, that it was great kindness in your Majesty to avoid the noise which my going to the Prince would have made, since his own had made too much among the Spaniards in the army. Upon the whole, I find, the hearts of the confederates are grown high with their late successes, and with hopes of greater before this campaign ends; and that the Prince is very much bent upon having his share in the honour of it, either by a siege or a battle, which, I believe, we may suddenly hear of, and that Charleroy is designed. The event hereof, as well as of the farther action yet expected in Alsatia and Treves, will so much govern the conditions of the peace, that I do not see how your Majesty can, at present, be master of them farther, than by bringing it to a congress, and making the overtures there, according to the posture of affairs at that time, when no new successes

on either side shall arise in that season to change the scene. I can yet see no farther, unless your Majesty can think of any temper, wherein France and the Prince may be like to agree before-hand, which will depend upon the opinion each side hath of their affairs: your Majesty will guess at that of the confederates by what I have written; and, I hope, knows that of France by better hands. I humbly beg your Majesty's pardon for the necessary length of this trouble, and your acceptance of the true devotion wherewith I am, and shall ever be, Sir, your Majesty's most loyal and most obedient subject and servant.

To my Lord Chamberlain.

My Lord, Hague, Sept. 10, N. S. 1675.

I AM to acknowledge the favour and kindness of one from you of the 18th past, and of the account you therein give me of yourself, as well as the reflections you make upon the affairs at present in the scenes here. To the first I shall say nothing at all, knowing how good a judge you are of other men's affairs; and, consequently, how much better you must needs be of your own; in which all men are to be allowed for the best masters, till they either confess to have failed of their ends, or not to have found what they expected in them. I hope you find good recruits of health in the country, since you reckon upon staying so long there, as the accounts I receive of the King's intended motions make me guess. But for the prospect you have there of the general affairs, I do not think you could mend it by any removes; for all will still depend upon the last events with which this campaign shall end: in which, I find, if the Prince had no wiser counsellors than you and I, he would be content to preserve his army and Flanders till he saw the force of these German ex-

peditions spent one way or other. But, I hear, he is resolved to have a share in the honour of the campaign, and will endeavour by a siege of Charleroy to bring the French to a battle, though they are near as strong in number as he is, and much stronger in horse. To this end he is drawing together eighteen regiments towards Ruremonde from the garrisons of this State, which will make his foot strong when they join him. But, when all is done, Flanders is the only scene where the late successes of the confederates can, in any probability, receive a check this year; and whoever fights a battle runs a venture. His grandmother died on Monday last, and has, I suppose, thereby left a considerable addition to his fortune.

The news here to-day is of taking Treves, wherein Monsieur Creque and all the officers remain prisoners; but the soldiers, both French and Dutch, are sent away free, with engagement not to serve against the confederates in three months; and the Lorrainers either to remain prisoners, or to take service under that Duke. If this army should march into Lorrain, as was intended after the taking of Treves, I know not in what condition France would be to receive them, considering how ill the Prince of Condé has yet been able to deal with Montecuculi. But I have an opinion, that the Dukes of Lunenburgh, who make the greatest strength of it, will march back with their troops, to make good their share in Bremen, if the Swedes should not be able to defend it; which will depend upon the resolutions of the Duke of Hanover, that are not yet known. A commissary of Sweden, who still remains here, says that France will no longer insist upon the point of Prince William; at least, no further, but that he shall be set at liberty upon conclusion of a peace. If this be so, I see not how a congress will fail; if not, I know not how it will be.

In the mean time, this State is very earnest to have it begun by the King's sending his Ambassadors thither, which, they undertake, shall be followed not only by those of the confederates, but the Swedes too; who seek all ways of drawing their stake as soon and as well as they can, out of the present game.

This is all I know of to be told you at present from this place of solitude and leisure. And for myself, I will only say, that the journey or further remove you mention, and were told I was to make immediately after my return, is a thing I never heard of before, and so know not what your politic informers meant by it; unless it be the same which I believe they meant by several other things I found they told you of my actions or discourses while I was in England, and with as little grounds. God be thanked, that among so many pursuits and journeys I have of late, by report, been engaged in, I know of none of them, but find myself a man of great repose, and without other designs, than of going on that dull, easy, and indifferent pace, that is natural to me; and by which as I can make no great fortunes, so, I hope, I may make no great faults, and get no great falls; but shall ever be, your most faithful humble servant.

To the King.

Hague, Sept. 20, N. S. 1675.

May it please your Majesty,

HAVING found the Pensioner sensible how little reason this State would have, upon any successes, to change the terms they proposed to themselves for a peace, since they had no pretensions of their own for carrying on the war; and having touched the same string in a letter I writ to the Prince, upon the death of the Princess-dowager; I receiv-

ed one yesterday from his Highness of the 17th, wherein were these words; *Je ne voy pas qu'avant que j'arrive à la Haye je pourrois faire quelque chose pour l'avancement de la paix, laquelle pourtant je souhaite passionnement sur le pied que je vous ay toûjours dit.* I should be glad your Majesty and the Prince were so agreed, before a congress begins, as to draw things towards the same head in all matters that shall be negotiated there: and I see no other difference, than what there may be in the value of the county of Burgundy, or Aire, and St. Omers. I find them here of opinion, that nothing can be advanced towards a peace otherwise than at a congress; which they seem to ground only upon the great variety and number of parties and interests, that are engaged now in the war. But, I believe, this proceeds chiefly from the Spaniards, who are extreme jealous of all private measures that may be taken between your Majesty and the Prince upon the subject of the peace.

Your Majesty will best judge, whether you are likely to prevail with the Emperor to release Prince William before the conclusion of a peace; or with France to insist no farther upon this point before a treaty begins; and will please accordingly to apply your offices towards some way or other of overcoming this difficulty, which must be the first open step that can be made towards the peace, that so as little of the season for a treaty may be left as the campaign will allow.

I will not increase your Majesty's present trouble beyond the professions of that humble and hearty devotion, wherewith I am, and shall be ever, Sir, your Majesty's most loyal and most obedient subject and servant.

To the King.

Hague, Sept. 27, N. S. 1675.

May it please your Majesty,

So great an honour as I received by a letter from your Majesty, has made me equally sensible how much I am to acknowledge it, and which way I may best deserve it, by applying my whole endeavours to what I find is so much in your Majesty's thoughts. We are now so near an end of the campaign, that I do no longer expect any decisive action from it: and when all the fights and all the bonfires are done, I believe, the greatest effect of it will be best judged by the winter-quarters of the Imperial army: whether Count Montecuculi will be able to gain them in Lorrain and the Upper Alsatia (as he proposes, and, I hear, has promised the Emperor), or shall be forced to seek them on the other side the Rhine, which must happen in case he does not master Haguenau and Saberne. For the battles expected either in Pomerania or Flanders, I am apt to think, neither party will seek them, without such advantages as the other will not give; so as the year may end without them. And your Majesty may already guess how the next scene is like to open, and upon what foot the negotiations of a peace are like to begin. On this side, I find, the overtures of them are expected from your Majesty (though, I believe, both the Court of Rome and of Sweden may affect that honour); and they are, I suppose, to be made by two different motions at the same time; the one public, by advancing the congress and some proposition there (or middle scheme between the pretensions of the parties), that may serve for a ground upon which the treaty may begin; the other private, by feeling the pulses on each side, and judging from

thence, whence the nearest approaches are like to be made. For the congress, your Majesty has all the reason in the world not to send your Ambassadors till you have assurance that those of both parties will immediately follow, and, towards this, I see no other motions to be made on this side, than for your Majesty either to write to the Emperor, or to give me a command to speak to his Minister here; and, by one of these ways, either to make it your desire, that in consideration of your Majesty as mediator he will make way for the congress by putting Prince William of Furstenburgh into some neutral hands, without further condition; or else propose, that he may be sent to Venice, upon caution taken from the State, that if the peace succeeded not, he shall be returned to Vienna.

For the pulse on this side, I will assure your Majesty, it still beats very fast and very high, in all these provinces, towards the peace; so that in case the congress begins, and at Nimeguen, as it is at present agreed (that is, in the eye of these people), I think, I might undertake to make them agree to your Majesty's absolute arbitrage, in any difficulty that might arise upon it. And the suspicion of such violent influences from the bent of the people here will make the House of Austria endeavour (though upon other pretences) to remove the congress to some remoter place. As to Spain, I am not of the same opinion; and find by my last discourses with Don Emanuel de Lyra, what reason the Prince had in his last with the Pensioner, to make so much difficulty upon the point of Burgundy: for, when I began only to touch that string, by saying, the greatest difficulty would lie there, and that your Majesty agreed with the confederates in the opinion of an absolute necessity to make a frontier for Flanders; Don Emanuel interrupted me briskly, and said, *Qu'on ne se flatte pas sur ce*

point, car nous perdrons plûtôt toute la Flandre par la guerre que de ceder la Bourgogne par la paix. However I do not despair upon this point itself, if your Majesty and the Prince should come to agree in it; because I know how unwilling the House of Austria will be to break from this State, in the course of the treaty; and in all that has passed of late between them, they have not so much considered any advantages they expected from the war; as what they might hope by closing such measures with this State, as might serve them upon all occasions, even after the peace, and in any new conjunctures that may open when the King of Spain grows of age, by himself or some settled Ministry to direct the councils, and head the actions of that Crown.

But this is the hardest of the game: whereas, if your Majesty shall, on the other side, find France disposed, by the late ill current of their affairs, to come up to the Prince's first project; which was, the four towns for Aire and St. Omers; I shall look upon the peace as made, notwithstanding any new incidents that may fall in, either from the Empire or the Dane. I will desire your Majesty, not wholly to forget the advantages that were offered you from hence upon that scheme, of a marriage between the two Crowns, in case any way should open towards it, by the great variety of accidents that may yet possibly happen in the progress of a war; because in all events, France with that may find an issue with honour, and your Majesty with profit, as well as applause.

For that wherein your Majesty wishes the Pensioner's eyes were opened; I have often discoursed upon that subject to him and others in the chief direction here, since the scene began to change to the disadvantage of France. But they all answer, these considerations will not be in season till Spain

shall arrive at the terms of the Pyrenees; beyond which, if any step should ever be made, they say, the interests of this State will change, and not before. But there is yet another bias in this matter; and that is, the Lovestyn party's being so much bent upon the measures with France, which turns those of the Prince and the present government here so much more upon Spain. But these will lessen by nothing so much as by your Majesty's advances into closer measures and confidences with them, and by that means taking off their dependences from the other Crowns, and turning them wholly upon yours. All which lies, as I suppose, in your Majesty to do, at what time, and in what degree soever you please; as you may judge by the last account I gave of the Prince's and Pensioner's discourses upon this subject.

I am to beg your Majesty's pardon for this length, which I have been engaged in by the desire of giving what lights I thought might be necessary now at your Majesty's entrance upon this great work of the mediation: I am, and shall be all my life, Sir, your Majesty's most loyal, and most obedient subject and servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, October 15, N. S. 1675.

I HAVE the honour of yours of the 28th past, with his Majesty's commands upon the two points of the marine treaty, in pursuit of those gentlemen's opinion to whom the consideration of them was referred, which I likewise received in a paper inclosed. To-morrow I shall have a conference with the States Deputies upon them, and by the next shall be able to give you an account of them, and doubt not at all but his Majesty will have satisfaction in them, which way soever he pleases to turn them, so it may be reciprocal on both sides.

Upon my memorial to the States, renewing the offices of his Majesty's mediation, and desiring that passports might be prepared, the States have resolved it shall be done without delay or difficulty; and in the same form as those for the congress at Cologn. They are content to give them with blanks for the names of Plenipotentiaries, and likewise, if his Majesty pleases, with a blank for the name of the place of treaty; and either to deliver them here to me, or send them to Monsieur Van Beuninghen, to be disposed of by his Majesty's order. In all which points if you please to signify his Majesty's pleasure to me, I shall not fail of seeing it performed; and question not but it will be abundantly in time, considering from what distances the other parts of this kind are to be performed; and how little use can be made of all these diligences till an expedient be found out in the business of Prince William.

I have, upon return of the Emperor's Minister to this place, performed likewise, by his intervention, the same offices in his Majesty's name to the Court at Vienna: upon which he told me, that he questioned not the Emperor's ready compliance with his Majesty in this matter, provided that France would reciprocally furnish the passports necessary for the Imperial Ministers, and those of the allies, but more particularly those of the Duke of Lorrain, upon which there had been so great an obstruction given to the late treaty at Cologn. I could answer nothing to this point; whereupon he desired me to insinuate it with the first to his Majesty, that so the resolution of France might be clearly known: adding, that he supposed there would be no difficulty in this, or any other matter which concerned the present Duke of Lorrain; since all the pretences given by France to any action against that Duchy had been raised from their personal quarrels with the old Duke, and jealousies,

or exceptions, against his personal qualities, which could not lie against the present Duke. From this he fell into the general discourse of the mediation, and how powerful all his Majesty's offices would prove, in case he preserved the authority of a mediator; which consisted chiefly in the opinion of his impartial dispositions to all parties. That he did not question this of his Majesty, since he had charged himself with the mediation; and that he supposed, it was some of his Ministers, without his knowledge, that had given occasion to the reports which were spread in the German Princes Courts, of the Elector Palatine having begun a private negotiation with France, by the intervention of the Court of England; which had interrupted the measures of Count Montecuculi, and drawn him back with his forces towards those parts. I had nothing to reply upon this subject, but that it was a story I knew nothing of: and that the account Monsieur Spanheim gave me of his journey into England was very different from any such intentions of his Master: and so I turned the discourse to the business of Prince William; wherein he said, all the order he had received was to declare, that the Emperor was willing, at the opening of the congress, to expose that whole matter before the several Ministers there concerned, and leave them to judge of the reason he had for that seizure and detention.

By what I could gather from much discourse between us, upon a point wherein neither of us had order to say any thing from our Masters, I am apt to believe, if his Majesty will propose an expedient in it, as a mediator, and with the strength of his own desire upon it, that the Emperor will not easily refuse it. And if his Majesty shall resolve to make this trial, and transmit it hither, in a letter to be conveyed to the Emperor; I shall, at the same time, engage the offices both of the Imperial Minister

here, and Don Emanuel de Lyra, to make way for it. This last was with me yesterday; and among many discourses upon the subject of the peace, fell upon the difficulty there would arise about the Pope's Nuncio, who could not intervene at a congress at Nimeguen, though his Master's mediation had been accepted both by the House of Austria, and likewise by France: and thereupon asked me, whether the place of congress might not yet be changed; which I have found of late both him and the Emperor's Minister much endeavouring. I told him, I believed though his Majesty had named Nimeguen, yet he had no other engagement to it besides the difficulty of any new agreement among the parties, who had already accepted this; and it was not easy to find any fitter in the provinces of this State admitted by France: and all others seemed to be excluded by a resolution of France and the House of Austria, not to treat in either of their dominions. That for the difficulty of the Pope's Nuncio, it was first to be considered, that though his Master's mediation had been accepted by the Emperor, and the two great Crowns, yet it could not be so by Sweden, Denmark, or this State. So as the Pope could not be esteemed in this negotiation as an universal Mediator, which was a figure would belong to his Majesty alone. And therefore it would not perhaps be of necessity for his Minister to intervene at the place of congress, but only to reside at some place in the neighbourhood, where he might have constant communication with those Princes' Ministers who had accepted his Master's mediation; and might possibly make use of it in points that were purely between themselves, without concernment of the other parties. That to this purpose, there was Cleve, within two hours of Nimeguen, where the exercise of that religion was free, and performed in the great church; or if not, there were other

convents at the same distance, very fit for receiving a Nuncio. Don Emanuel seemed to find no great exception against this expedient; but said, it would not be agreed upon unless his Majesty proposed it to France; which he therefore desired I would insinuate in my next letters.

The Pensioner told me in my last conference, that the expedient I mentioned in my last, to have been offered Monsieur Van Beuninghen, concerning the business of Prince William to be agreed in the first article of the treaty, was offered him by one of his Majesty's Secretaries of State; which I could say nothing to: but I am very confident, if France will insist no farther than that, there will be no difficulty in this congress. He told me at the same time, that the Duke of Nieuberg had done his Majesty and the mediation a great wrong in Germany, by endeavouring to form a third party among the Princes of the Rhine, and giving out that his Majesty would be the head of them. To which I only replied, it was a thing I knew nothing of; but that I was very confident his Majesty would upon no occasion quit the figure of Mediator, having once undertaken it, and being so universally accepted. I am ever, Sir, your, &c.

To the King.

Hague, Nov. 1, N. S. 1675.

May it please your Majesty,

Since the Prince's return, I have had two large discourses with his Highness, and shall give your Majesty only the sum of what passed, not troubling you with the length of many circumstances. The Prince received the assurance your Majesty was pleased to give him in some lines of your own hand, with very great sense of so much kindness; which, he said, he had all the reason that could be to be-

lieve from those expressions, and would ever deserve them the best he was able.

Upon the subject of the peace, he was, at my first audience, dryer and more careless than ever I found him last winter or spring. He said, it was out of his head at present: that we should find the Spaniards much stiffer than six months ago: that Montecuculi's desire of going to Vienna had hindered his taking up his winter-quarters in Alsatia; and some difference between himself and the Spaniards had spoiled the effect of this campaign, without which it might have gone far towards a reasonable peace. That he saw the only way of making the war in Flanders would be with two separate armies, which might be compassed next campaign. And, that if the forces of Lunenburgh and Munster could clear Bremen of the Swedes this winter, he believed France might have their hands full next spring.

All his discourses being of this kind, I thought not fit to pursue them far the first time: but yesterday, at a second audience, I resolved to bring it to some point; and desired his Highness to tell me, not what he thought of Spain or the Empire, but upon what terms he himself would be content to see the peace made, and to fall into a concert with your Majesty for effecting it; which I knew you would expect some knowledge of by this post. He said at first, it was a hard question, and that he would think of it: but when I pressed him hard, he said, at last, he found the Spaniards so difficult upon Aire and St. Omers, which he had first thought of upon an exchange, that, for his part, he would be content with the quitting of Burgundy, if the French would give two towns more in Flanders, than those four your Majesty proposed; that is, Tournay and Doway; because, he believed, France would make more difficulty of Lisle. And

since your Majesty first made your scheme, the Swedes had lost so much, that this, he thought, might very well be given in their consideration. After much reply and argument, all I could clear by this discourse consisted in these two points: that the Prince does not think fit the peace should be stopped by pretences of the Princes of the Empire to retain their present conquests upon Sweden; and that he will be content to yield the point of Burgundy, if the restitution of places in Flanders may be enlarged as an equivalent to it, and for the rest, the terms of Aix-la-Chapelle: so that between your Majesty's thoughts and those of his Highness, there will be the difference only of a town or two, more or less: by which your Majesty will be able to judge in what compass this matter will turn, when it comes to a treaty.

I am sensible of having given your Majesty too many and too long troubles of this kind, and will not therefore lengthen this beyond the professions of that constant and sincere devotion, wherewith I am, and shall ever be, Sir, your Majesty's most loyal and most obedient subject and servant.

To Sir John Temple.

Sir, Hague, Dec. 12, N. S. 1675.

I HAVE seldom troubled you since my last return out of England, leaving it to my sister to entertain you with any thing that is domestic, and to the paper that is usually sent you, to inform you of common occurrences: and little of negotiation having lately passed here, farther than the formal progress of the King's mediation, in proposing, and at length fixing, the place of treaty to be at Nimeguen, which you desire to know the reasons of.

I proposed this town to the King, and his Majesty to the parties, not as a matter of choice, but

almost of necessity; for the Emperor would not send his Ambassadors to any in the French territories or conquests; and the French would not send theirs to any in the jurisdiction of the confederates; so that we fell at first here into the thoughts of Basil or Hamburg, but many inconveniences were found in both; and France, upon the hopes of falling into particular measures or treaties with some of the confederates, was content this last year with any difficulties that might keep off a general congress, which was likely to unite their interests rather than separate them. And the confederates, on the other side, upon the confidence of their great numbers and forces, had a mind to see the events of the two last campaigns, before they fell into any serious thoughts of either peace or treaty: and so his Majesty's offers of mediation have continued now a year and a half without any effect farther than being at length accepted by all the parties.

The ill success of the French arms in the invaluable loss of Monsieur Turenne; the defeat of Monsieur Crequi; the taking of Treves, and the ill condition of the Swedish affairs; but most of all, the stanch resolutions of the confederates to avoid all separate treaties; have, I suppose, inclined France to set on foot the general one, by the offer they made of sending their Ambassadors to any town in four of the provinces belonging to the States; which gave some ease in that first pace, of proposing a place for the congress which might be generally accepted.

Yet the confederates were not without their difficulties upon this point. They suspected the intentions of the French in this overture itself, as a piece of compliment and cajolery to this State, whose dispositions towards the peace they knew to be different from those of all the other confederates:

they apprehended very real effects upon the issue of it, by the practices that might be carried on in these provinces by the French Ambassadors and their instruments, in such a concourse of strangers as a general treaty was like to draw into them. Upon this ground the Imperial and Spanish have violently opposed the accepting this offer from France, and would have drawn the treaty to Frankfort, Cologn, Basil, or Hamburg, rather than into any of these provinces.

The Prince of Orange himself, and the Pensioner here, with others of the States, had so much of jealousy in the matter, that they would rather have chosen the treaty in another country, and would by no means hear of either Utrecht or Breda, in regard of their vicinity to the heart of this province, where the pulse beats higher towards a peace, upon the interests of trade, than in any of the rest. But all of them are sensible, that it would not be borne by the people here, to refuse this offer of France, and thereby reject the treaty on this side, which seemed by it to have been so much advanced on the other.

From these reasons we fell into the thoughts of some town in Guelderland, and the most remote from hence, as the easiest to be accepted by the confederate Ministers; which fixed the proposition at length upon Nimeguen: though indeed the very situation of it, as a center between Spain and Sweden, the eastern parts of the Empire and England (which are all to have parts in the treaty) made an appearance of some convenience, as well as necessity, in the choice.

You will have known from England sooner than from hence, that I am designed by the King for one of his Ambassadors in this mediation: and I begin accordingly to turn my thoughts and affairs towards that remove; which, as to the air, being

much drier than this, I do not dislike. As to the business, I expect an increase of trouble and expence, as well as honour. I remove my whole family, put off my house here, and have fixed already upon one at Nimeguen: for which, with stables and out-houses necessary to it, I am like to pay a thousand pounds a year; which is but a part of those exactions like to be practised there upon this occasion, and which cannot be remedied by this State; where the Magistrates of each town have a jurisdiction uncontrolable by the States themselves either general or provincial, and are like themselves at Nimeguen to give us no remedy in this affair, which they are all concerned in.

What prospect there is of a peace like to result from this congress, upon what terms, or what time, is very difficult to tell you: the delays of it must be such as the parties please, it being in the power of either to raise them upon the formal or substantial parts of the negotiation. The conditions to be first proposed will be distant enough, because they are like to come from all the several parties; though some of them would be glad his Majesty, as Mediator, would draw the first scheme according to what he shall esteem most just and agreeable to the common interests of Christendom: and they doubt not, but whatever peace his Majesty should propose, he may do it in such a manner, as to make it easily accepted by all parties, and take upon him to be the Arbiter as well as Mediator in this great affair. But, for aught I see, our councils are fixed to act no such part; so as the mediation will not at all lead, but follow, the dispositions of the parties; as these, I suppose, will do the events of the war, since no suspension of arms is like to be agreed during the treaty.

The present dispositions, I think, are these: France will pretend to all their conquests, both of the last

war and this; but would at present be content, I believe, to part with a town or two in Flanders, so as they may keep Burgundy; and will make no difficulty to leave the Empire and this State as they were when the war began (after all this expence of blood and treasure). Spain, seeing so many confederates united in their quarrel, and engaged to make no peace without their consent, reckons upon no less than the Pyrenean treaty, and would keep off this till some successes of the confederates' arms may make way for such conditions. The Emperor finding this war has almost united the Empire in the interests of the House of Austria, and drawing money from these States, as well as from Spain, is very unwilling to lose the conjuncture, and therefore would be glad to have the war go on; and so will not only insist upon the restitution of Lorrain and Philipsburgh, but reparation of damages to the Princes of the Rhine. These States ask nothing for themselves, but the restitution of Maestricht, and of commerce as it was before the war; but think it necessary for their own safety, that a good frontier be left the Spaniards in Flanders; and so will endeavour to have five or six good towns restored there, in exchange for Burgundy, which they are less concerned in. But all the allies agree in repossessing the Duke of Lorrain; which is a matter that France is most reserved in, as having no pretence either of right or conquest there; and yet, justly esteeming it a matter of more importance to them, than all the rest, considering not only the force and riches of that province, but the situation of it and the absolute engagement of the present Duke to the interests and person of the Emperor. If these points could be agreed, nothing that concerns the new quarrels in the North would, I believe, hinder the peace: but upon the present state of the war and the mediation, I do not see any sudden issue very likely

by a treaty: and how the events of another campaign may raise the hopes or fears, and thereby change the interests and pretensions of the several parties, no man can conjecture. In the mean time, I would not leave this place, nor end the year, without giving you this general scheme, by which you may the easier judge of the motions you shall hear of in the course of the treaty or the war, since you are pleased to say, it will be a satisfaction to you. I know it will be so, to hear we are all well at present here. My wife intends to make a step into England about the time I shall go to Nimeguen, but to return to me there within a month or two. My son, I hope, entertains you often from London, as my sister does from hence, which allows me to trouble you less. I am ever, Sir, your most obedient son, and most humble servant.

To Mr. Sidney.

Sir, Hague, December 13, N. S. 1675.

THOUGH I did not like the date of your last letter, yet I did all the rest very well. I thought Lyons a little too far off for one I wish always in my reach: but when I remembered, it was a place of so great trade, and where you told me yours had been very good in former times, I was contented to think you spent your time to your own advantage and satisfaction, though not to your friends, by keeping at such a distance. I was very well pleased the other day with a visit made me by Captain Fresheim, who was much in your praises; but I did not like that he should make you kinder to him than to me: yet I think he deserves it of you, if all be true that he tells, for he pretends to think you *le plus bel homme, & le plus honnête homme*, and I know not what more, that never came into my head, as you know very well. However, I was mighty glad to hear him say,

you had the best health that could be, and that you looked as if you would keep it, if you did not grow too kind to the place and company you lived in, or they to you. Yet, after what you tell me of the French air and Bourbon waters, I am much apter to wish myself there, than you in these parts of the world; and though I hear news every day from all sides, yet I have not heard any so good, since I came upon this scene, as what you send me, of the effects I am like to feel by the change whenever I come upon that where you are: they will be greater and better than any I can expect by being the busy man, though *je pourrois bien faire merveilles*, with the company I am joined to; and nobody knows to what Sir Ellis may raise another Ambassador, that has already raised one from the dead. They begin to talk now of our going to Nimeguen, as if it were nearer than I thought it a month ago: when we are there, it will be time enough to tell you what I think of our coming away. Hitherto, I can only say, there are so many splinters in the broken bone, that the patient must be very good, as well as the surgeon, if it be a sudden cure. And though I believe both where you and I are, the dispositions towards it are very well, yet I doubt of those who are farther off on both sides of us. For aught any body knows, this great dance may end as others use to do, every man coming to the place where they begun, or near it: only, against all reason and custom, I doubt the poor Swede, that never led the dance, is likeliest to pay the fiddlers. I hope you know what passes at home; at least, it is a pity you should not: but if you do not, you shall not for me at this distance; and since you talk of returning, the matter is not great. In the mean time, pray let me know your motions and your health, since the want of your cypher keeps me from other things you say you have a mind to tell me. I hear nothing of the letter you mention

to have sent me by so good a hand; so that all I can say to that is, that by whatsoever it comes, any will be welcome that comes from yours; because nobody loves you better than I, nor can be more than I am, yours, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, January 7, N. S. 1676.

I SPARED you the trouble of a dispatch by the last post, which was made needless by one I received from Sir Lionel Jenkins, with the account of his arrival here. You will have by this ordinary another from him, with the particulars of his reception and discourses with the Prince; as likewise one from us both, with the account of our resolutions how to dispose of ourselves, in order to our best compliance with those ends for our present embassy, which we conceive his Majesty has proposed to himself, and signified to us by our instructions. I shall refer you more particularly to those dispatches, and tie up this to what is necessary in answer to yours of the 21st past, which last pacquet brought to my hands.

I have not yet been able to bring the States to any resolution concerning the sending away passports for Sweden before the arrival of theirs here; the conferences they have desired upon that subject having been hitherto excused by the Emperor's Minister here, upon other pretences. But the Prince told me yesterday, that the true reason was, that neither that Minister, nor any others of the confederates here, were willing to do any thing in it, without Monsieur de Lyra, who is not yet returned from Brussels, though he has been for several days expected. He has written to the Prince, that he had the Spanish passports for the French Plenipotentiaries, and would put them into my hands upon his arrival here; which made me very glad to be by advance possessed of

those from France for the Spanish. And immediately upon receipt of those from Monsieur de Lyra (which, I hope, may be to-day or to-morrow, the wind being now fair from Antwerp) I will send both those and the Dutch by a trumpet to the governor of Charleroy, according to your orders.

I send you one inclosed, from the States to the Bishop of Strasburgh, since, as you observe, there is none expected from him, either to them, or any of their allies. I hope you endeavour the procuring passes from France to be likewise dispatched for the Ministers of the several allies mentioned in the States resolution; and find it will be expected, that among them should be three for the States Ambassadors, though the congress be in their own country, since, as Monsieur Beverning says, they may have occasion of moving sometimes themselves, and often of dispatching couriers, either into the Spanish Netherlands, or into Germany, where they go in danger of the French. For these reasons, I suppose, it will likewise be necessary to procure passports for his Majesty's Ambassadors there. All which, I hope, will be transmitted by the French Plenipotentiaries, if they are so forward on their way as we hear.

Yesterday I shewed the Prince and the Lorrain Envoy the French passports I received for the Minister of that Duke. Upon which subject, besides the discourses that passed yesterday, of which you will receive an account in a journal from Sir Lionel Jenkins, I received this day the inclosed letter from Monsieur Serinchamps, and I doubt the matter will find difficulty on the confederate side, if it prove to have been a thing resolved on by the French, and not done by chance. I mean, the style given the Duke of Lorrain. As to the other omissions of the said passports, I think there will be likewise a necessity of amending them; since I find them not only in the Lorrain, but in the Spanish passports

likewise; though having not shewn them yet to any Spanish Minister, I shall leave him to make his own exceptions: but I tell you of them before-hand, because they are so obvious that no man can fail of them; and, by knowing them early, you may possibly save time, by preparing the French Court to amend them. They are these two: first, that they reach only to the persons of the Plenipotentiaries, and those of their train, without comprehending their baggage, horses, papers, or any such words: whereas you know very well what happened lately to the Cardinal of Baden, by such a passport. And, in the next place, there is no power given of dispatching couriers from the said Ambassadors with their passports, without which no negotiations can be carried on. Upon the amendment you desired in both these points to the passes of the States, though the defects were but one word too much, and another too little, I not only procured them, but likewise desired that the same form might be used by all the confederates, which I was assured of; and to that end, copies have been sent them: and there is no question but they will insist to have them granted as full from France, as they have yielded themselves. That you may observe the distance, I inclose a copy of one of the French passports, which you may please to compare with that of the States to the Bishop of Strasburgh, which runs in the same form with all the rest.

As to the neutral country, his Majesty apprehends the same difficulties that I did in obtaining it from France, so far as he has proposed it here. I confess, I thought when you gave me order to make instances for it to the States, so as to comprehend Meurs, you had taken your measures by Monsieur Ruvigni, and found by him that his master would be content to make the Prince of Orange such a compliment as reached no further than a little contribution. The

matter had not been great, if it had not been proposed here from his Majesty; but since it has, I hope they will not refuse it in France, since it is of some consequence as to the force of his mediation, when he is first refused by any of the parties, in what he thinks fit to propose, which he has been yet by none. In case, however, this should not succeed to the Prince of Orange's satisfaction, I think the least bounds his Majesty can prescribe for the neutral country that way, will be the Fossa Mariana, which runs from river to river; and the rather, because the inclusion of Cleve and the villages near it will not be only necessary for the convenience of the congress, but for the residence of such persons as are expected to come from Rome: and besides, there will be no certainty in any other bounds that can be given by the denominations of towns. And without some such line as the channel I mention, both parties will be out upon prey, and trust to disputing after, whether the place where they made it was in the neutral country or no.

I hear Don Emanuel de Lyra is like to be, at last, one of the Plenipotentiaries, and come in as substituted by the Duke de Villa Hermosa, who shall be named first in the commission. I think it will be necessary the Spaniards should be minded to avoid a difficulty which may arise, in case he receive not a commission like the others, from the King of Spain, but only from the Governor of Flanders; in which case he will not be treated as an Ambassador, whatever he may pretend: as, I remember, Monsieur de Bergeyck did, in the very same case, at Aix la Chapelle. I am, Sir, your most faithful humble servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, January 7, N. S. 1676.

HAVING considered together, as well as we could, his Majesty's instructions, and his intentions in this embassy; and hearing that the French Plenipotentiaries are already on their way, and will be at Maestricht on the tenth of this month; and finding that the Plenipotentiaries of this State are here upon the place, watching our motion, their baggage being already laden in a bilander in this canal; we have concluded together, that there is no other way of complying with the scope and design which his Majesty seems to have proposed to himself in this affair, but by applying ourselves separately at present to the two several points which seem to us to be intended by them. And therefore, that all parties concerned in the war may take notice of his Majesty's great diligence, in sending his Ambassadors to the place of congress, and of some of them being actually arrived there, whereby the several parties may be invited to the speedier dispatch of theirs; and likewise that an Ambassador may not be wanting upon the place, to receive and compliment the first Ministers that arrive there from any of the parties; we have jointly resolved, that I, Sir Lionel Jenkins, shall set out towards Nimeguen to-morrow, for the accomplishment of the above-said ends. And whereas, by an article in our instructions, we are commanded, before we leave the Hague, to see the business of the passports, and the declaration of the neuter country, put into such a way of dispatch, as that the business of the assembly may not be retarded by any thing wanting on the part of the States and their allies: whereas an obstruction, by reason of the absence of Don Emanuel de Lyra, hath been lately made in the resolutions of the States

and their confederates concerning both these points; and that a new incident (and, as we fear, of some consequence) hath yesterday discovered itself in the business of the passports, by the observation first of the Prince of Orange, and more sharply of the Lorrain envoy, upon the defects of the French passports to that Prince: we have likewise jointly resolved, that I, Sir William Temple, shall stay some days longer at the Hague, to pursue and solicit these two affairs, of the passports, and the neuter country, to a full and speedy issue. We have likewise jointly resolved, in order to make our public letters of less trouble to his Majesty by their length, to transmit from time to time, by way of journal (such as for an essay goes here inclosed), all the passages and matters of fact that occur to us as relating in any wise to this negotiation of the peace. We are, Sir, your most faithful humble servants,

W. Temple.
L. Jenkins.

To the Bishop of Winchester.

My Lord, Hague, Jan. 8, N. S. 1676.

I HAVE the honour of a letter from your Lordship, by Mr. Morley, and shall be extreme glad to deserve it, by the good fortune of serving him in the way you desire, and he proposes to himself. By what your Lordship writes, his pretensions are so small, that he might justly have claimed them, without the advantage of belonging to your Lordship, or of a recommendation that will always have so much power with me, in much greater matters. The circumstance of being so particularly under the eye of my Lord Ambassador Jenkins will, I doubt not, keep him safe from any of those dangers abroad, in point of his morals, which you say

he escaped at home, and from which no place is free. But, as far as my observation of him may be necessary, he shall not fail of it, with the concernment and care that are due from me to your Lordship's commands; in which I shall not yield to any of my colleagues, how great soever their pretensions may be to your Lordship's friendship, or their emulation upon any such occasion of your service. I was extreme glad to receive the knowledge of your Lordship's good health, and with it a testimony of your favour and remembrance, which I can pretend no otherwise to deserve, than by the resolution I have so long taken, and constantly observed, of being always, with great passion and truth, my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful, and most humble servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, January 14, N. S. 1676.

By the last pacquet I received together both yours of the 24th and 28th, with his Majesty's resolution, that we shall expect the first visit be made us as Mediators, by all the Ministers of what character soever, arriving even after us at the place of congress. And with this order I received the ground of it, which was the instruction given upon this point to his Majesty's Ambassadors at Cologn, and their practice in pursuit thereof. His Majesty's commands shall in this, as all other matters, be obeyed: but I had not heard any thing of this from Sir Lionel Jenkins before he parted hence, though we had often discoursed upon the conception we both had, of using the contrary form to all Ambassadors that arrived after us. And upon discourse with the Prince, since I received this instruction, he said, the precedent of what was done at Cologn ought certainly to guide us; but that he thought

it had passed otherwise with their Ambassadors. This evening Monsieur Beverning, and Monsieur Haren, came to me, to let me know, that, having acquainted the States with their being both ready to begin their journey upon the first commands, they had received orders to attend me, and entirely follow what I should advise them in that point; and in all matters of ceremony, when they came upon the place, to conform themselves wholly to what we expected from them. And they were farther ordered to acquaint me, that after our arrival there, the States would look upon the town of Nimeguen as a neutral place, where all matters should be carried by the burgomaster's command there, according to the orders they should receive from the Mediators, both as to their own receptions, or that of any other Ambassadors.

I answered to the several points, after acknowledgment of the States civility in their resolutions; first, since an Ambassador of his Majesty was already upon his way thither, I thought it would be best for them to begin their journey likewise, as soon as they could, both in respect to his Majesty, and likewise to give the more and earlier appearance to the world, of the congress beginning to be formed: and hereupon they assured me, they would part in two or three days.

To the second, I told them, that his Majesty expected the several Ambassadors, though arriving last upon the place, should give the first visit to us as Mediators; since the same was done to the Swedes at Cologn by his Majesty's Ambassadors. To this they answered, there would be no difficulty on their parts, but they doubted there might be some from the other Ambassadors; since they had taken it for granted at Cologn, that the Mediators had still visited those who arrived after them; and whatever might have been done there by his Ma-

jesty's Ambassadors, they were sure the contrary had been done to them (the States Ambassadors), who had less reason to expect it: and that arriving last both at Aix, and after at Cologn, the Swedish Ambassadors made them the first visit in both places, after notice sent of their arrival. And they desired me to give you this information, not in regard of any concernment they could have in it, who were resolved to give us the first visit, though they should last arrive; but to the end you should consider, what measures would best prevent contests, or difficulties of meetings, in case any other of the Ambassadors should refuse it; since there may be difference between what is voluntarily given by each party, and what is challenged by the Mediators, and insisted upon in case any of the parties dispute it. I told them, I should let you know what they said upon this point; but must follow my orders, in case we received no new ones therein.

To the third, of the magistrates and officers being to receive our orders as to matters of receptions, I told them, his Majesty had commanded us to admit of none, but to enter the town with our trains, and nothing more; and in all points to introduce, as far as we are able, the form of living like private persons among all the several Ministers, during the whole course of the assembly. But since we refused any public honour or reception, we did not think it reasonable any other should have it. They replied, All the difficulties would be, in case the others desired it, which we did not; and that might possibly happen from the Emperor's Ambassadors: and Monsieur Beverning said particularly, he did expect it from Monsieur Colbert, by what he had done of that kind at Aix la Chapelle in the treaty of 1668. But if any of them should demand it at Nimeguen, they would answer, That address must be made to the Mediators in it, whose

orders were wholly to be obeyed. I answered, Whenever that was done, we would acquit ourselves the best we could, and the nearest to what we conceived was his Majesty's intention.

Upon the news of the French Plenipotentiaries being upon the way, and staying at Charleville for their passports from Flanders and this State, though Don Emanuel de Lyra was not arrived with those from Brussels, which, I hear, he is possessed of, with orders to put them into my hands; yet I had a mind to send away those of the States: but knowing it would be of no use, unless it were done with the States consents; on Sunday last, meeting the Pensioner with the Prince, I asked his Highness, whether he were content I should send them away? and the Pensioner, whether he thought the States would likewise consent? Both of them told me, as to their opinions, they were, that the States passports should not be sent till I had received the French passports for their Ambassadors, and for the Ministers of all their allies mentioned in that resolution given me upon this subject (and which I transmitted to you), and this in the same form, or as full, as those they had agreed upon according to our amendments. They said further, that their passports could be of no use till those of Spain were likewise sent (through whose countries they first must pass) and, they were sure, those would not be delivered by the Spanish Ministers without receiving those from France at the same time, and in the same form. But after all our discourse, they both said, they could tell me but their own opinions, and that the States must be consulted upon it.

Yesterday the Prince dined with me, told me, the States had been of the same mind: and that I should receive their resolution upon it before this pacquet went; but it is not yet come, though I am now within half an hour of its usual time of clo-

sing, having been unexpectedly detained by a long visit from the two Dutch Ambassadors; which makes me beg of you, to let one of your clerks return me a copy of this letter.

I have not heard one word from Sir Lionel Jenkins since he parted from hence on Thursday night; and doubt very much the delays of the passage he would needs chuse by water in a yacht of the States, to avoid the ill way between Utrecht and Aearnham by the breaches of digues; the winds having changed the very day after he parted, and continued so contrary ever since, that I cannot imagine how he will get up the river. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord, Hague, January 17, N. S. 1676.

I RECEIVED the honour of a letter from your Lordship the beginning of this week by Mr. Widdrington, who shall not fail of any services I can do him here, as I have already assured him, and desired him to let me know all occasions wherein he thinks he can make use of me, I had the opportunity of bringing him to his Highness, who dined that day with me; and to give him the better entrance, I shewed the Prince your Lordship's letter. He read it, and smiled at the latter part of it; but when he had done, he came to me, and desired me to remember his service to you, and assure you, how much he valued your recommendation; and that Mr. Widdrington should find it by all the encouragement he could give him. After a little stop, he said; "And for the latter part of his letter, pray tell him, they are very much mistaken;" and then pausing a little, as if he were concerned at it; he said, "God! I never said any thing to Sylvius, that I was not content my coachman should know." I laughed, and asked him, "And would you have

me tell my Lord Treasurer so too?" He turned about, and said resolutely, "Yes, do." I entered no farther into this matter, nor should have said this, but that the Prince bid me; and seemed concerned, that what your Lordship writ upon that subject should be believed there. The use I made of it was a little more important; which was, to go since to the Prince, and tell him, that being now upon my journey to Nimeguen, and having been here a year and a half, his Majesty would have reason to think he had been very ill served, if in all this time I were not able to give him a right and full account of his Highness's intentions in what his Majesty concerned himself; but that the King should be still in pain to know them, and casting about by what hand to find them out. The Prince said, he could not say more to me, than he had said to me already, and written to the King upon all occasions; and, that he could not tell what more we would know of him, nor why Sir Gabriel Sylvius was sent over, when the compliment might either have been spared, or made by Mr. Skelton as he passed by. However, I endeavoured to draw what new light I could from his Highness; and comparing all he had said with all that I had gathered from the current of his former discourses to me, upon any points wherein I thought his Majesty was concerned to know the bottom of all he means, I thought fit to set it down in writing; and that I might know whether I had in every thing rightly apprehended him or no, I shewed it him, and send your Lordship the paper inclosed, and what his Highness said to me upon reading of it.

I desire your Lordship will please to shew it to his Majesty, with this account of the occasion of it, which was given me by your Lordship: and, for my own part, I believe, this is what his Majesty must trust to, as to the Prince's pretensions, and

that no talk or reasoning will alter them, nor any thing else beside some new and great accidents or changes in the affairs of the parties now in war.

However, this need not discourage his Majesty from endeavouring to know more from his Highness by any other hand; though he said lately to me, upon some of these discourses, that whenever he could say any thing wherewith he thought his Majesty would be more pleased, he would be sure to do it by me. For the truth of all this, if his Majesty desires to be further satisfied in it, I am very well content he should send this letter and the inclosed paper to the Prince, which will be the infallible way of knowing it, and without engaging me further in the ill-will or expostulation of Sir Gabriel Sylvius, or his patrons; though their meaning to me, in the way they designed his coming over hither, and endeavoured it for three months together, has been but too well discovered to me, as it has been, I am sure, very little deserved. He is not yet come, though I have expected him every day this fortnight past; and resolve upon his arrival to carry myself to him in all points as becomes me to a person sent by his Majesty hither, and give him any assistances he desires me.

There is a point of instruction I received last post from Mr. Secretary Williamson, which I would likewise be glad his Majesty would please once more to reflect upon, as a thing that may possibly bring an ill incident upon the course of the treaty. It is, that his Majesty's Ambassadors should expect the first visit from all others, even that arrive after them at the place of congress; and this is grounded upon an instruction to those at Cologn, to give it in the same case to the Swedes, as then Mediators, and upon their having actually done so. Now the Dutch Ambassadors on the contrary, arriving after the Swedes at Cologn, received with-

out any difficulty the first visit from them, and thought all others had done so too: and it appears by our Ambassadors' journal, that though they did it, yet the Swedish Ambassadors intended it first to them, and had accordingly sent a gentleman to ask an hour of them. Now there is a great deal of difference between what is voluntarily given, and what is of due demanded. And though the Dutch Ambassadors are resolved to do it, yet if those of the Emperor, or the other greater Crowns, should make a difficulty, as I foresee they may, the congress might be *accroché des cérémonies* between the parties and mediators, whose business it is to prevent or compose them between the parties themselves. Besides, this State has resolved to look upon Nimeguen, not only as a neutral town during the treaty, but, in a manner, put it into the hands of the Mediators, by ordering both the commander and magistrates to take orders from them upon all emergencies: so that it seems to belong to them, not only as Mediators, but as persons at home, to do the honour of the congress to those that arrive after them.

It will be a troublesome thing, I doubt, to his Majesty, to give very particular instructions upon every point of ceremony that may arise: and therefore when he resolves upon this, I know not whether the easiest will not be, to send us one general instruction, commanding us to avoid all, as far as we can, both between the mediators and parties, and between the parties themselves; and when that cannot be, to leave it to us upon the place, to act in point of ceremony by consent, as we judge best for his Majesty's honour, his ends in the mediation, and the practice of other Princes, but particularly that of the treaty at Cologn; of which Sir Lionel Jenkins is so well informed.

I humbly beg your Lordship's pardon for so long

a trouble, which I should not have given you, had not I thought it necessary for his Majesty's service: and you will forgive me the easier, because I am so much what I shall ever be, my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful, &c.

The Paper inclosed.

Hague, January 17, N. S. 1676.

As far as I can any way discover of his Highness's intentions, they are these,

First, As to his Majesty, to live always not only with the duty and respect that becomes him, but with all the kindness and nearest conjunction of interests that can be, while his Majesty pleases to continue the desires of it; and that affection which he has professed to him by so many letters, and so many several hands, and now lately by Sir Lionel Jenkins.

As to the peace; the Prince says to me upon all occasions, that he, for his own part, would be very glad to make it upon any terms his Majesty should think fit; if his Majesty can prevail with Spain to consent to it, which his Highness doubts, he himself shall not be able to do; and he finds this State so far obliged to that Crown, both by their treaties, and for their assistance in their late extremities, that he does not see how they can break from them; or, if they should, who would afterwards trust them.

That the greatest testimony his Majesty can give his Highness of his real kindness and good-will to him, would be to bring him out of this war with some safety to his honour, and to his country; and thereby to shew the world, that as none of his Majesty's allies were nearer to him in blood, nor truer to him in affection; so he considered none of their interests more than his in this present quarrel.

That the best way to this that his Highness can

think of, in respect to the honour of France, and his Majesty's particular advantage, as well as the certainty of a sudden peace, was that which had some time since been mentioned to his Majesty, of effecting a match between the King of Spain and Mademoiselle, with the conquests since 1666 for her dowry; and in this case, his Highness would undertake for such a present, as the Pensioner then spoke to his Majesty, and doubted not to persuade Spain to do as much. But if this could not be, then he saw no way left, but for his Majesty to dispose France to restore those towns in Flanders, which were necessary to leave the Spanish Netherlands in a condition of defence: upon which his Highness and this State would use their utmost endeavours to incline Spain to a peace. And his Highness says upon all occasions, that he is sure his Majesty may do either of these, whenever he pleases, and without any difficulty at all; and he believes, without going against any interests of his own, or his kingdom's.

That if neither of these can be compassed, and France resolve to have no peace, but upon the foot of affairs as they stand at present; and his Majesty will only consider their possession, and not the justice of it, or interest of Christendom, in it; his Highness says very plainly, that though he wishes his Majesty all the glory that can be, by the present mediation, and this State will contribute all they can towards it; yet for his own part, he sees no remedy but that they must try the fortune of another campaign; in which he hopes so to behave himself, as that his Majesty shall not be ashamed of him, nor at all lessen the kindness or good opinion he has hitherto expressed for him.

Having read this paper to his Highness, and asked, whether I had apprehended him right; he said, so right, that if you had been within him, you could not have done it better; and if I were the best Ca-

tholic in the world, and you were my confessor, I could say no more to you.

I asked, But can you say no more to any other man? His Highness answered, I would not say so much to any other, but can say more to no man.

To Sir Edward Dearing.

Sir, Hague, February 18, N. S. 1676.

I AM to acknowledge two of yours, one of the 25th past, the other without date, from yourself and the company of Merchant Adventurers. As to the last, I find by a clause of it, or at least, I conjecture, that my letter to Sir Richard Ford upon that subject had been communicated to you; in which case I can find little to add upon that matter, unless it be the assurance of my continuing my good wishes and endeavours to the service of the company, as far as I can any way make use of his Majesty's character or commands, or they can make use of me, or my small credit here upon this occasion. I follow the method in it, which is judged by the gentlemen of the company at Dort most advantageous to the ends they propose to themselves: so that if they want my assistance, where it can be of any use to them, it is their own faults. The States of Holland have not, that I hear of, yet given their opinion, or answer, upon the last papers offered by the secretary of the company; and have promised that nothing shall be concluded till I have first had a conference with the States General upon it, which will be the time for me to fall in with any weight upon this matter. There is, I confess, a circumstance in the constitution of this government very unlucky to the retrieving of an affair that is once past, as very favourable towards preventing it before it be done; which is the necessary consent of so many members in each province, as well as in the State. I made

use of this circumstance to fence against this resolution of the States, for three years together, during my last ambassage; and should not have questioned the same success, if it had been kept off till my return. But it was done in the little interval Sir Gabriel Sylvius was here, before my last arrival: and what I shall be able to do towards the recovery of it, I cannot promise; but shall be very glad to give you effects instead of assurances.

What I have said here answers likewise the first part of your own letter. For the rest of it, I am extremely obliged by your kindness in giving me part of any thing that touches your own particular; believing it to proceed from your justice in esteeming me (what I am very much), concerned in all that does so. I am very glad of your coming into the commission of the customs, because I remember it was a thing you wished; otherwise I should rather have desired to see you called to his Majesty's service in another sort of sphere, and in which his choice is not so large as I suppose it may be in this. In such a case I should be glad to have served you; in this I neither pretend to it, nor am very ambitious of the merit, which I esteem so ill proportioned to yours. And therefore I ought, in true Old English phrase, to give you thanks for your thanks, as what is wholly of your grace, and does not at all belong to me.

I had a letter from you some time since, upon your coming to be Governor of the company, and directed my answer to be left at Sir Robert Southwell's: I wrote to him since about a business of his own, or, at least, that he had much concerned himself in, but have not heard that either of them were received, which I should be glad to know by a line from him when he is at leisure. My wife and sister are your humble servants, and so am I, with very much affection and truth.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, January 21, N. S. 1676.

I AM to acknowledge at the same time two of yours by Mr. Skelton, of which one to myself, and the other to Sir Lionel Jenkins and me, with duplicates of Mr. Skelton's dispatches; and a third by the last pacquet of the 4th current. Upon the two first, I shall refer myself to Mr. Skelton's dispatches, which he said he would make this night, with an account of all that passed in his audience from the Prince, and conference with the Pensioner; as likewise what shall pass this evening at a conference we are to have with the States. I am sorry to find he is not like to carry with him to Vienna the joint offices of the States; but hope his Majesty's will be of force enough not to need them. You know very well what accounts I have still given you, of the States obstinacy upon this subject, not to meddle in it, one way or other, upon the score of Prince William's carriage particularly to this State, which the Pensioner to-day aggravated by many circumstances; and repeated it several times, that they could not be advocates for him, without falling into *le mepris de tout le monde.* Both the Prince and the Pensioner seemed amazed at Mr. Skelton's saying, that he believed his Majesty has been engaged in this desire to the States by Monsieur Van Beuninghen's assurance of their compliance with it; and the Prince says, it has been without any orders; but the Pensioner affirms, it has been absolutely against his orders, if he has done it. And, I fear, you will have reason to judge from this pace of his, and his violent pressing Sir Lionel Jenkins's hasty dispatch, that you may very often take wrong measures from him there, if they agree not with what you receive from hence; and that his natural dispositions enter

much into the motions he makes. Of all which I gave you advice, when I was in England, at large; as well as of the true reasons that will hinder his Masters from taking so far notice of all these passages, as to think of recalling him. I have since written something of it likewise to Mr. Secretary Coventry, upon occasions he gave me, by some letters of his, to think this matter was not well enough understood, or taken notice of there.

I have little to say in answer to yours upon the business of passports, the great default being yet in your hands, to supply by new ones from France, in form, and for all the allies. You will find, by the inclosed memorial of Don Emanuel de Lyra, that the passports from Spain are arrived for France and Sweden; and they will not fail for the Bishop of Strasburgh, I suppose, since this morning the Emperor's Minister sends me word, that his Master has accorded them for him, as well as for the other two, and that he expects them next week. The States also let me know, that they have assurance of those from Lunenburgh, as well as Brandenburgh, by the first. But for Denmark, they do not speak with so much confidence; their Ministers here have been peremptory, not to have any sent into Sweden, till those from that Crown are first in my hands; but for themselves, they have spoken so ambiguously of theirs, that the States have resolved to send an express to Copenhagen, to procure the expedition of them, and to let them know that if they are not dispatched hither within a certain time, they (the States) will send theirs away for Sweden.

I have not yet seen Don Emanuel de Lyra since his return from Brussels, and so cannot give you an account of the certainty of what is here reported concerning Don Juan's being in the head of affairs in Spain. From France I have never had more than one short letter upon Lord Berkley's arrival, though

I have writ several times; so that whether it arrives by miscarriages of letters (to which mine between Paris and this place have been very much subject, since my arrival here;) or from my Lord Berkley's little health, or great affairs; I find I must depend upon no advices from France, nor motions in order to the congress, but what must be handed by you to me here; which I thought was necessary for you to know. I am ever, Sir, your most faithful humble servant.

P. S. Monsieur Beverning, before he went out of town, sent me the inclosed copy of his journal at Cologn, concerning the visits of the Swedish Ambassadors to them: not that they are concerned, who resolve to make the first visit, though arriving last; but from an apprehension that others may make difficulty of it.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord, Hague, January 24, N. S. 1676.

In my last, of this day se'nnight, I endeavoured to give your Lordship a full account of the Prince of Orange's intentions; which his Majesty was, it seems, still in pain to know. Since that time Mr. Skelton arriving here, and telling me (as well as the Prince) several things the King had said to him upon that subject, has given me occasion to add something upon it, to the end his Majesty may in all points know the very bottom of it, and take his measures accordingly: for, as far as I understand, all matters are carried on according to the personal dispositions of the men that are at the head of them, and the Prince is a man as difficult as ever I knew, to be talked either into or out of any thing, wherein he thinks either his honour or interest concerned.

Mr. Skelton told the Prince, that his Majesty

knew very well there were some little people about his Highness, that endeavoured to persuade him, the King had not the kindness for him he professed; at least, not so much as for France: but I assured him of the contrary; and that his Majesty would shew it by the measures he intended to take with him, after the peace was made, upon the first words the Prince answered, that he desired nothing in the world more, than that the King would have the kindness for him he professed. Mr. Skelton, I remember, made some reflections to me; and thought it sounded as if the Prince doubted it. And I remember Sir Lionel Jenkins, upon his several discourses with his Highness, said he doubted the Prince had something lay at heart. I will first tell your Lordship, that, now Moulin is no longer about the Prince, I do not suspect any others I see near him, of the design to sow ill impressions of his Majesty's intentions; nor do I really think he has, any further than might be gathered from his discourses in my last paper: that is, he believes his Majesty will not, for his sake, break any of the measures he has of late years taken with France. He thinks some partiality is shewed in the business of the levies; and is troubled that his Majesty will not bring him out of this war with some honour, which he believes may be done (as he often says) with a word speaking: and that, as affairs stand in Christendom, France cannot refuse any thing his Majesty shall desire. And from these impressions he says upon discourse, that effects only, and not any words or expressions can remove him.

Mr. Skelton told me (and, I suppose, the Prince too) that his Majesty would undertake for any conditions upon a peace, that the Prince should propose of advantage to himself. I have often talked with his Highness upon that subject: and on occasion of Monsieur Ruvigni's proposing his Master

buying all his lands in the county of Burgundy, even at a value unreasonable; I have ever found him so cold upon this subject, that, in short, nothing will be fastened on him. And, I remember, at last he told me, that he knew to another man it would look like affectation, and therefore he would not say it; but to me that knew him so well, he would tell me very truly, that, though he understood very well the value of his lands in Burgundy; yet, upon the peace, he would be content to lose them all, to get one good town more for the Spaniards in Flanders.

Because I mentioned in my last paper an offer that had been made his Majesty by the Pensioner, upon a match between the King of Spain and Mademoiselle, with the French conquests for her dowry; which was a thing the Prince's head has run mightily upon, as in his Majesty's power to bring about; though I do not think it at all likely, or that the restoring even of the Swedes to all they have lost, could either dispose France to it, or engage his Majesty in an earnest pursuit of it: yet because I doubt your Lordship has not heard any thing before of that matter, when it went from hence in some of my letters about a year ago; I thought it was fit to explain to you so far only as to let you know the sum offered by the Pensioner to be paid privately upon it into his Majesty's treasure, was two hundred thousand pounds; and the like sum to be endeavoured by them from the Spaniards; which the Prince, as I said in my last, told me he did not doubt of. This is the utmost of what I can say upon this subject, but I shall be glad if any other persons can find out more of the Prince's intentions, or any thing that his Majesty will be better pleased with. But, I doubt, they are these at present, and that they will not change by other means than some new accidents or revolutions in the farther course of time or war.

I ask your Lordship's pardon for this farther trouble, and shall not increase it beyond the assurances of my being ever, my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful and most humble servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, January 24, N. S. 1676.

I WAS extremely sorry to find, by yours of the 27th past, so ill an account of your health of late, which I had heard nothing of before, but what Monsieur Spanheim told me at his return hither, of your being ill of the gout, without more circumstances. But such an attack as you speak of, deserves more than ordinary of your own philosophy, and your friends concernment; among whom my share, I am sure, does not fail you. I hope your health will change with the season, and that the spring will cure what, it seems, came upon you with the last fall, and has continued so long.

I suppose you had not seen Monsieur Van Beuninghen very lately before you writ, or else you would have known more than you did of the effects my discourses had with the Pensioner, upon the subject of the packet-boats. For though he does not use to fail in what he promises, and sets down for the help of his memory (both which he did upon this occasion), yet I complained to the Prince, after having received your last, that nothing had been written upon it to Monsieur Van Beuninghen, though the Pensioner had promised that should be done. For he had seen letters that post from Monsieur Van Beuninghen, which acknowledged those he had received upon that subject. So that, till I hear you find them short of what they were intended for, I know nothing more to be done on this side, towards your satisfaction in that small affair.

I very well understand the bias you are pleased

to give to what I said, of your being like to be informed of all that passed here, when Sir Gabriel Sylvius arrives, by the thanks you give me for that assurance; though you might, I think, have very lawfully turned it another way, upon the notice I gave you, at the same time, of my leaving this place, upon my journey designed for Nimeguen: yet, since you rather chose to give it this tour, I will very easily, and like a plain man, confess to you, that, considering the manner in which you intended Sir Gabriel Sylvius should come over hither, I had no reason to believe at all, you cared for any advices I could give you from hence; or believed they were worth his Majesty's receiving, or, at least, considering. Which is all I shall say upon that matter, having not the vein of being pleasant, nor the disposition of being unpleasant to you, upon this or any other occasion.

I humbly thank you for your good wishes to the negotiation I am like to be employed in; and in which I had need of something at least like that to please me, considering the circumstances of trouble and expence with which I am likely to enter upon it; and without any help in one from the Exchequer, or in the other from my Lord Berkley, for the success of it. I believe you can guess as far and as well as any man else, and will need none of my conjectures; which are only that it will, like all other affairs, depend upon the accidents that shall fall in, more than the design, or skill, of those that play the game. I am ever your most faithful humble servant.

To Mr. Secretary Williamson.

Sir, Hague, January 28, N. S. 1676.

I AM to acknowledge yours of the 11th, with the repetition of his Majesty's orders, for his Ambas-

sadors to expect the first visits from all others at the place of congress, though last comers. I suppose, if France consents to it by agreement, and Sweden upon precedent, as you please to say, and this State upon resolutions already taken; there cannot reasonably be any difficulty made upon it by the rest: or, if there should, his Majesty will be as much at leisure as any of the parties to deliberate upon it. For the point of solemn entries, I concerted that whole matter with Sir Lionel Jenkins before he went; so as he hath already given the example, and seen it followed by the Dutch Ambassadors, upon their late arrival.

I inclose you the copy of a letter I received this afternoon from Monsieur Pompone, upon the subject of his Majesty's late representations by Monsieur Ruvigni, concerning the exceptions taken here to the French passports. I shall not communicate it to the States, nor make any answer that will be authorised here upon it, till I am impowered to do both by his Majesty's orders; which I hope I may receive by the next post, finding the substance of this letter had been transmitted into England at the same time with the dispatch to me. In the mean time I thought fit to go immediately to the Prince, and acquaint him with it; desiring to know, if he pleased to have me, by advance, give his Majesty his sense upon it. His Highness, having read it very considerately, said very frankly, that he would tell me his thoughts, and that I might let his Majesty know them; but that he would not answer what those of the State might be. Upon the first point, he said there was a mistake: that the words omitted were not only *papiers* or *écritures*, but *hardes*, *baggages*, *chevaux*, *chariots*, &c. And that they had not there thought the words *papiers* or *écritures* necessary, or inserted them, had not I made instances to the States, upon

particular orders from England, to that purpose; which they supposed, with the other amendment transmitted to me, had been concerted with the French Minister there.

For the second, that his Highness believed no congress ever was formed without that power given the Ministers of dispatching couriers; nor did believe this could have any effect without: that the Ambassadors of this State would (he supposed) find it necessary to write to him from the congress wherever he was, either here or in the field; because he did not think the States would make any great paces in such a negotiation without his advice: that however, though the States would be willing to dispense with it, as France was content to do; yet it would alter all the measures had been taken in this matter already, by my agreeing with them in the form of passports. For those from Spain were already come, and those from all the confederates were upon the way, in the same form: so that if France should make this change, though the confederates should all consent to it; yet the new form must be sent to them all, and new passports dispatched upon it. That neither the States, nor their allies, would (he was sure) consent to give them any larger form than what they received.

For the third point, concerning Lorrain, that it was of much more importance than the rest; and that his Highness believed it was the best news could be sent to those of the confederates that desired not the peace: that he had never thought France pretended a right to the duchy of Lorrain: that he would not enter into the argument upon the treaty of 1662, mentioned by Monsieur Pompone; but that this State had lately renewed with this Duke the treaty they had made with the last; and doubted they could not treat at Nimeguen, any

more than at Cologn, without admission of the Lorrain Ministers; but he was very sure (which he repeated several times) that the Imperialists and Spaniards would not do it; especially after this pretence made by France to that duchy; which, for that reason, his Highness was glad I did not make public till I received orders from his Majesty upon it. He concluded, that all this was before his Majesty as mediator, whose part was to observe the justice of each party's pretensions, and induce them to reason upon it: that I had told him, his Majesty had concerned himself already in it, and in those very words: that he had thought this particular of Lorrain somewhat strange, and had spoken to Monsieur Ruvigni about it, besides what had been represented to him upon the other points; and that his Majesty, being sensible of the reasons of it, he did not doubt, would set all right. His Highness added, that now his Majesty found how long a work the forming of a congress would prove (which yet was absolutely necessary to a peace), he hoped he would not suffer the steps that were already made to be lost; since if that should begin again at the end of next campaign, for aught he saw, the assembly might not meet before another campaign were, at least, approaching.

This is the substance of what his Highness told me upon Monsieur Pompone's letter; though with more length, and with such a readiness, as shewed me he had the full grasp of all his business himself: and I wondered, I confess, to hear him repeat the little things that had passed upon the first head between me and the Pensioner, and the words I had told him out of your letter of the 7th; having hardly myself remembered the last, and not thought the Pensioner had troubled him with such circumstances as the first. When he had done, I asked his Highness, whether I should write all this to his Majesty as his sense? And having repeated it to

him, he desired I would, and by this post, for gaining time. I have been so long with the Prince upon this occasion, that I have no more time left than will serve to assure you of my being, Sir, yours, &c.

To Monsieur Pompone.

Hague, Jan. 30,
Sir, N. S. 1676.

THE day before yesterday I had the honour of yours of the 21st, concerning the necessary passports for forming the congress at Nimeguen, where his Excellency the English Ambassador Jenkins has been for near three weeks, and two of the Ambassadors of Holland more than eight days; in expectation of speedily meeting the rest of the Ministers of which this assembly is to be composed. What keeps me here is nothing but the difficulties which have been lately started about the affair of the passports; those of this State are now in my hands, and those of the Crown of Spain are in the hands of Monsieur de Lyra, the Spanish Envoy. Without doubt you must have received, by the care of Monsieur de Ruvigni, copies of the resolutions of the States General, and of a memorial from Monsieur de Lyra, setting forth their intentions, not to put the one into my hands, nor send the others to the Lords the French Ambassadors, until I shall be possessed of reciprocal passports from his most Christian Majesty to make the exchange.

As for the difficulties which are here made about the passports for Spain, which Monsieur Ruvigni caused to be sent

Au Monsieur Pompone.

La Haye, Jan. 30me,
Monsieur, *S. N.* 1676.

J'ay reçeu devant hier l'honneur de la vôtre du 21re, sur le sujet de passeports necessaires à former le congrès de Nimegue, où Monsieur l'Ambassadeur Jenkins a dejà sejourné près de trois semaines, & deux des Ambassadeurs de cet Etat, plus de huit jours, dans l'esperance d'y voir bientôt les autres Ministres qui doivent composer la dite assemblée. Je ne suis icy detenu que par les seules difficultez survenuës depuis peu dans cette affaire des passeports, dont ceux de cet Etat sont entre mes mains, & ceux d'Espagne en celles de Monsieur de Lyra, Envoyé de cette Couronne-là. Mais vous aurez sans doute dejà reçeu par l'entremise de Monsieur de Ruvigni, les copies de la resolution des Etats Géneraux, & d'une memoire de Monsieur de Lyra, contenant leurs intentions, que les uns ne me seront pas mis entre les mains, ni les autres envoyez à Messieurs les Ambassadeurs de France, jusqu'à ce que je seray en possession des passeports reciproques de sa Majesté très Chrétienne pour en faire l'échange.

Pour les difficultez qu'on a fait icy sur les passeports pour l'Espagne, que Monsieur de Ruvigni m'a fait envoyer de-

some time since, I should not have thought them of importance enough to fall under so long consideration, had you not communicated your thoughts to me on that head; since it is well known, that in concert with the States General I settled the form of those passports, by order of the King my Master, and recommended it to their care to see that the passports of all the other allies should be drawn up in perfect conformity to them; which they accordingly took upon themselves to do, in compliance with my requests. I could not make any doubt, but the said form of passports (being taken from that of those used at Cologn, and having undergone the corrections of Mr. Secretary Williamson) had been resolved upon at London, in concert with Monsieur Ruvigni. The Lords the States General were of the same opinion; and pretend that the reciprocal passports of France and Sweden, ought to be given in as ample a form as those agreed upon by all the confederates.

As for the importance of those two points, on which all the difficulties here are founded, you will be pleased to observe, that for the first, it is not only the word [*papiers*] papers, that is said to be omitted, but also the words [*baggage, hardes, équipage*] baggage, goods, and equipage, and such like other words usually inserted in this place in passports; and which I find in those passports which his most Christian Majesty

puis quelque tems; je ne les aurois pas crû assez importantes pour meriter tant de consideration, sans les reflexions que vous avez faites là-dessus, puisqu'il faut avoüer que j'ay concerté avec les Etats Géneraux le formulaire des passeports, par ordre du Roy mon Maître, & leur ay recommandé le soin de faire en sorte que ceux de tous leurs alliés fûssent dressés sur le même, de quoy ils se sont chargés à mes instances. Et j'ay toujours crû que la dite forme ayant été dressée sur celle dont on s'est servi à Cologne, & corrigée sur les reflexions de Monsieur le Secretaire Williamson, elle avoit été resolûe à Londres par concert avec Monsieur de Ruvigni. Messieurs les Etats Géneraux en ont crû le même, & pretendent que les passeports reciproques de France & de Suéde soient donnés d'une forme aussi ample que ceux qui sont accordés par tous les confédéréz.

Pour ce qui est de l'importance de ces deux points sur lesquelles on a icy fondé les difficultez, vous remarquerez s'il vous plaît, q'au premier ce n'est pas le seul mot de papiers *qui manque, mais ceux aussi de* baggage, hardes, équipage, *& les autres accoutumés en cet endroit de passeports, & que je vois dans ceux que sa Majesté très Chrêtienne a accordés aux Plenipotentiaires de cet Etat à Cologne. Le mot de* papiers *avoit été a-*

granted to the Plenipotentiaries of Holland at Cologn. The word *papiers* was not in the form proposed here, but added by Mr. Secretary Williamson. As for the other point, namely, about the liberty of the several Ministers at the congress, to send their couriers, barely in virtue of their own simple passports; I own that I am of opinion, that it is a thing not only practised constantly on all these occasions, but, indeed, a thing of absolute necessity to bring the negotiations to a happy conclusion; by securing that safety and ease of corresponding between Princes and their Ministers; who can never come with such full and perfect instructions, as never to have any occasion to have recourse to their Masters for new orders, upon the many unforeseen incidents to which treaties are subject. In the first form of passports sent by me into England, the expression was, that the couriers of the Plenipotentiaries, in virtue of a good passport, should be free; but I received orders from Mr. Secretary Williamson, to blot out the word *good*, and that in order to take away all difficulties and disputes which might hence arise, in an affair so essential to such negotiations.

jouté par Monsieur le Secretaire Williamson, ne se trouvant pas dans le formulaire proposé icy. Pour l'autre point, de la liberté des Ministres au congrès de faire passer leur couriers sur leurs simples passeports: j'avoue d'avoir crû que c'étoit une circonstance non seulement pratiquée en toutes telles occasions, mais en effet fort necessaire à faire réussir les negociations, par la seureté & facilité de communication entre les Princes & leurs Ministres, qui ne pourroient être tout d'un coup si pleinement instruits, que de n'avoir pas recours aux nouveaux ordres de leurs Maîtres sur les incidents auxquels le cours des traitez sera toujours sujet. Dans le premier formulaire que j'ay envoyé en Angleterre il étoit porté que couriers de Plenipotentiaires munis d'un bon passeport seroient libres. Mais Monsieur le Secretaire Williamson m'a envoyé les ordres de faire effacer le mot de bon *pour ôtre toutes sortes de disputes qui pourroient survenir sur une matiere si essentielle à telles negociations.*

As to the complaints made by Monsieur de Serinchamps concerning the passports for Lorrain, and the reflections you have made thereon; I judged it a matter of too great weight for me to intermeddle with in the least wise, without express order from the King my Master;

Pour les plaintes de Monsieur de Serinchamps, sur les passeports pour Lorrain, & les reflexions que vous avez faites là-dessus: j'ay estimé cette matiere de trop grande importance pour m'en méler aucunement sans les ordres de sa Majesté; & pour cette raison je n'ay encore rien

and for that reason I have not communicated any part of your letter to the Lords the States General, as knowing it would be news too agreeable to those in their alliance, who are not altogether so well disposed to the peace, as they have been represented to be; and who therefore might from hence take occasion to defeat all those hopes which Christendom has entertained from the great vigilance and care of the King my Master, employed in forming this congress; without which, no discourses, or proposals of peace, could ever come to good effect.

I cannot finish this letter without assuring you, that I now retain at the Hague all those sentiments of esteem which I have heretofore had for your person; and the firm resolutions that I have taken, to be ever with the greatest zeal, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant, &c.

communiqué de vôtre lettre à Messieurs les Etats Géneraux; sachant bien que ce seroit une nouvelle trop agréable à ceux de leurs alliez, qui n'ont pas les sentimens si portés à la paix, que ces Messieurs m'ont toujours temoigné, & qui pourroient tacher par-là de faire evanoüir toutes les apparences que le Roy mon Maître en a deja fait naître à la Chrêtienté par ses grands soins, & diligences employées à former le congrès, sans lequel tous les discours & speculations de la paix ne pourroient sortir à aucun effet.

Je ne puis achever cette lettre sans vous assûrer, que je retrouve encore à la Haye tous les sentimens d'estime que j'ai eu autre fois pour vôtre personne, & les résolutions que j'ay pris dès ce tems-là d'être toujours avec beaucoup de passion, Monsieur, vôtre très humble, & très obéissant serviteur.

To Mr. Secretary Williamson.

Sir, Hague, January 31, N. S. 1676.

Upon Mr. Skelton's dispatch, and the success of it, he assured me of having given you a very full account, and thereby saved you a trouble from me upon that occasion. There was only one thing he desired of the deputies, for the ease of his memory, which was, the deduction of those many reasons whereon they excused their compliance with his Majesty's desires; and they promised to put it into my hands by the next post; but have failed of that, as well as of the answer I expected about the extent of neutral country, by reason of the Pensioner's illness, which happens frequently, and ever

gives a stop to those affairs that turn wholly upon his hand. Another thing the deputies proposed to us at the end of the conference; which was, to know if his Majesty would expect an answer of that letter, which would make it public here; whereas they pretended to be so sensible of not complying with it, as rather to wish it might be taken no further notice of: and in this I expect his Majesty's pleasure, when you think fit to signify it to me.

I inclose you a copy of my answer to Monsieur Pompone's letter (which went to you by my last), wherein I endeavour to facilitate the two smaller difficulties about the Spanish passports, by owning the concert of the form here by his Majesty's orders, and the recommendation of it to all the confederates. And whereas he seems to except against couriers passing with only a simple passport from any of the several Ministers, and to think the word *papiers* unnecessary; I thought fit to let him know those changes were made in England; in hopes thereupon, that his compliance to them would prove the easier.

For the main point, which is that of Lorrain, I could not think fit to enter into any discourse upon it, or so much as to communicate it to the States here, without his Majesty's order; because I knew the publishing of it would, on the one hand, engage the honour of France so much the deeper in adhering to it; and, on the other, would animate the desires and endeavours of some part of the confederates, to break the congress upon this single point. Upon some discourses with the Emperor's Minister here, after the title given to the Duke of Lorrain was taken notice of in the passports from France; he made no difficulty to tell me very positively, that his Master would never treat without the Lorrain Ministers; and I remember his words were, *Et assurez-vous, Monsieur, qu'en venant au congrès nous*

les pousserons toujours devant nous. Monsieur Serinchamps was as peremptory on the other side, that his Master would never send without the style of Duke; but, I believe, would be much more so, if he knew the pretension that France now advanceth to that duchy, which he would believe nothing of when we spoke of it several times upon occasion of the passports. I had then an opinion, that the thing was not done by chance, and asked him, whether they might not ground a pretence upon the treaty of 1662? but he said with great confidence, they could not. His arguments were; first, the invalidity of that treaty, by the late Duke's having no right to dispose of his duchy from his nephew, because if the Salique law had course there, it was unalienable from the heir male; if the feminine succession, then that Duke himself had no title, but it belonged to Prince Charles, even in the life of his uncle. Secondly, the treaty's being void by the non-performance on the French side of the only condition which appeared of any advantage to Lorrain; which was, assuming their Princes into the rank of those of the blood of France; which was mentioned in the treaty as that condition, without which it had never been made; and upon its being registered in the Parliament of Paris with the leaving out of that clause, the old Duke declared it void (as I remember he said) within a fortnight or three weeks after it was signed. Thirdly, the treaty of Marsal being concluded the year after, between that King and Duke, by which the Duke was to continue the possession of all his territories besides Marsal, in the same manner as he enjoyed them by the treaty of 1661. And after that treaty of Marsal in 1663, it seems, that Duke continued quiet till 1670, when France seized upon the whole duchy; but declaring, as Monsieur Serinchamps saith, to all Princes of Christendom, and particularly to his

Majesty, that it was only upon personal quarrels to the Duke, and without intention to keep any part of the country. And he saith, in all this time France never made the least mention of the treaty of 1662, having found neither the Princes of the blood, nor Parliaments of France, would consent to it; and thereupon no further thoughts were ever had of it, to perform the smallest conditions of it, any more than the greatest. These were Monsieur Serinchamps' arguments, which I thought were fit to be sent you upon this occasion, when the matter lieth before his Majesty, and an expedient is not, I fear, like to be found on this side: and without it, the congress, for aught I see, must break, wherein his Majesty's honour, as well as inclination, you know, is now a good deal engaged.

I yet hear nothing of Sir Gabriel Sylvius, though the wind has been very good; and, having received none from you by last post, am in hopes he may bring me the orders necessary for my proceeding in this difficult matter. I meet with enquiries here every post after his Majesty's resolution in the business of revisions. I am ever, Sir, your, &c.

To Messieurs Colbert and d'Avaux.

Hague, Feb. 1, N. S. 1676.

Messieurs,

I RECEIVED yesterday your Excellencies letter from Nimeguen of the 19th past, and was willing, as soon as possible, to give you an account of the concern I had in an accident lately fallen out in the business of the passports, which must have given you some trouble, as it has given me much greater uneasiness. The passports of the States General have been for

A Messieurs Colbert & d'Avaux.

La Haye, Fevr. 1, *N. S.* 1676.

Messieurs,

J'ay reçeu hier de Nimegue celle de vos excellences du 19me passé, & n'ay pas voulu manquer de vous temoigner, au plûtôt le part que je prens à un accident survenu dans l'affaire des passeports, qui vous doit avoir donné beaucoup d'ennuy, mais à moy encore beaucoup plus d'inquietude. Ceux de cet Etat ont été quelque tems entre mes mains, & ceux d'Espagne entre celles

some time in my hands, as those of Spain have been in Monsieur de Lyra's the Spanish Envoy; but on this condition, that the former shall not be sent to your Excellencies, nor the latter delivered into my hands, till I become possessed of his most Christian Majesty's reciprocal passports, as well for the Plenipotentiaries of this State, as for those of their allies. Some difficulties have been here started about the passports, which, by Monsieur Ruvigni's means, have been for some time sent, as well for the Plenipotentiaries of Spain, as for those of Lorrain: the first of these difficulties being only grounded on some deficiencies in the form of the said passports concerning the security of the baggage, and the liberty of dispatching couriers, which were expressed in the passports formerly given by his most Christian Majesty to the Plenipotentiaries of this State at Cologn, as well as in those dispatched by the confederates for your Excellencies; I had good hopes to see them easily surmounted by the good offices which his Majesty the King my Master has already employed on this subject at the Court of France. And I have endeavoured to set these matters in a proper light for Monsieur Pompone.

de Monsieur de Lyra, Envoyé de cette Couronne-là; mais à condition que les premiers ne seroient pas envoyés à vos Excellences, ni les autres livré entre mes mains, jusques à ce que je seray en possession des passeports reciproques de sa Majesté très-chrêtienne, tant pour les Plenipotentiaires de cet Etat, que pour ceux de leurs alliez. On a trouvé des difficultez icy à ceux que Monsieur de Ruvigni m'a fait envoyer depuis quelque tems, tant pour les Plenipotentiaires d'Espagne que pour ceux de Loraine; mais les premiers n'ayant été fondés que sur quelques defauts dans le formulaire desdits passeports, touchant la seureté du baggage, & liberté de depêcher les couriers, compris ci-devant en ceux que sa Majesté très-chrêtienne a accordé aux Plenipotentiaires de cet Etat à Cologne, aussi bien que ceux que les confederez ont fait depêcher pour V. Ex. j'ay bien esperé de les voir facilement surmontez par les offices de sa Majesté le Roy mon Maître, qui ont été deja employés à la Cour de France sur ce sujet. Et j'ay tâché de donner à Monsieur Pompone les eclaircissements necessaires là-dessus.

As to the difficulties made about the passports for Lorrain, I found them of so great importance, that I dared not to intermeddle therein without the express order of the King; and therefore I have not communi-

Pour les difficultez faites sur ceux de Loraine, je les trouve d'une trop grande importance, pour y oser sans les ordres de sa Majesté y mêler mes sentimens; & pour cela n'ay pas encore communiqué à Messieurs

cated to the States General the letter which I received three days since from Monsieur Pompone on this subject: I am in hourly expectation of receiving his Majesty's commands, whereby I may regulate my own conduct herein. In the mean time, I intreat your Excellencies to assure yourselves, that it is with the greatest regret that I see this stop put to an affair in which the inclination, as well as the honour of his Majesty is so deeply engaged; and to believe, that I will omit no care or pains to promote and facilitate it on this side. To these so important considerations I might add the particular satisfaction and pleasure that I propose to myself, in being interested and concerned in an affair, that will bring me into the company and conversation of your Excellencies at Nimeguen; where I promise myself to find yet farther opportunities of giving you proof, how uneasy these hindrances are to me, and with how much esteem I am, your Excellencies most humble, and most obedient servant, &c.

les Etats Généraux la lettre que j'ay reçû depuis trois jours de Monsieur de Pompone sur cette matiere, mais j'attend à tout heure les commandements du Roy pour regler ma conduite. Cependant je supplie V. Ex. de vous assurer que c'est avec regret extreme que je vois cet accrochment à une affaire, en laquelle l'inclination aussi bien que l'honneur de sa Majesté est si fort engagée; & que je n'épargneray aucune peine & diligence pour la faciliter de ce côté icy. Je pourrois ajouter à ces considerations si importantes l'interêt particulier que je prens au bonheur & la joye que je me suis proposé en la rencontre & conversation de V. Ex. à Nimegue, où je veux esperer encore de trouver les occasions à vous temoigner combien je ressens ce retardement, & avec combien d'estime je suis, Messieurs, de V. E. le très hamble, & très obeïssent serviteur.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, Feb. 4, N. S. 1676.

You will have found by my two last, that I had before received from Monsieur Pompone what you have since been pleased to tell me by yours of the 21st, concerning the most Christian King's answer to his Majesty's representations about the passports. I have discoursed it over this day with the Pensioner, who finds no remedy on this side, but takes the whole matter for an argument, that

France has no desire at present to see the congress formed, or to enter in earnest upon the negotiation of a peace. He remarks upon the liberty of couriers, that the Spaniards can write but once a fortnight to Madrid, and that by the common couriers; but that the French themselves can have no communication, either with Paris or any of their garrisons, without this liberty; and he thinks, they cannot mean any thing should be done at a treaty with these circumstances. He said, it was possible that France might insist upon this in favour of Sweden, to whom, as you say, Denmark has refused the passes; but they are yesterday come, in the form agreed upon, as you will find by the inclosed memorial of that Envoy here. For the point of Lorrain, he reasoned much of the strangeness of such a pretension; but I remember nothing new, or more than what I repeated in my last of Monsieur Serinchamps discourses on that subject. As to this last, I can make no conjecture how his Majesty is like to succeed on the side of France, and have no prospect of any expedient upon this. But as to the two smaller difficulties, methinks, it should be easy to procure the passports from that Court in the same form with what are given here, if his Majesty owns them to have been concerted, as you know they were, by his order, and by the same recommended to the practice of all the confederates. And, indeed, nothing seems more proper, than for the mediator to concert one general form of passports to be used by all parties. I shewed those you inclosed in your last, to the Pensioner; upon which he remarked likewise, that there was but one single passport for all the Emperor's Plenipotentiaries, whereas there were three for the French; but concluded that he hoped still all might be adjusted by his Majesty's second offices towards France upon this matter.

I send you inclosed a paper I received from the States, concerning the business of Prince William of Furstenburgh, and another, concerning the neutrality; which coming just now to my hands, I send the original papers, though there seems some defect in a clause of the last, which leaves the prescription of the neutral limits wholly to his Majesty, provided they extend not beyond the Waal and Rhine. I suppose, by my letters from Sir Lionel Jenkins, you will have heard a great deal from him of the necessity of enlarging the bounds, in reference to the convenience of the Ministers: upon which subject I shall say nothing, but only wish, that France would leave this matter so far in his Majesty's hands, as to make that compliment concerning the county of Meurs, to the Prince of Orange, either from that Crown, or from his Majesty; his Highness, I find, thinking it hard, that so small a thing should be refused him, after his Majesty had thought fit to engage himself in the proposal of it on both sides.

Sir Lionel Jenkins told me, in one yesterday, of a chicane made him by Monsieur Beverning upon the point of first visit, which, I doubt not, he has given you account of. That very hour I had his letter, came to me the President of the Commissioners for the foreign affairs, by order both of the Prince and the States, to acquaint me with a letter of Monsieur Beverning upon the same subject, and to desire me to direct what I would have done upon it. I found by the letter that Monsieur Beverning intended to make no further or more formal visit to Sir Lionel Jenkins, upon pretence, that should be done to us both upon my arrival; but I desired Monsieur Mauregnault, the person sent to me, that orders might go away by last night's ordinary, to both their Ambassadors, to make their visit together, and in form, to Sir Lionel Jenkins,

as Ambassador-mediator; which the Prince told me, in the afternoon, had been accordingly resolved on. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, Feb. 11, N. S. 1676.

I RECEIVED a great deal of honour by the testimony you were pleased to give me in your last of the 25th past, of the approbation given at the foreign committee to my conduct, in giving no communication here of Monsieur Pompone's letter, till I had received orders from his Majesty. I thought this so much my duty, that I will confess to you, not to have given notice of it to the States, upon what I received from you in your former, though it was in substance the same with your last; but bringing me no orders, and only a bare relation from you, I thought fit upon it only to discourse it to the Pensioner, saying, that he might do the same to the States, as a matter he had from me in communication; which he did, lest I should seem to make a secret of what they knew here from Monsieur Van Beuninghen, and Don Pedro de Ronquillo. But upon his Majesty's pleasure, signified to me in your last, I have put in a formal memorial, to acquaint the States with it, having taken those words which relate his Majesty's part in it, out of your own letter; and which signify the most Christian King's answer, out of Monsieur Pompone's: this I did rather than out of yours, because what was contained in Monsieur Pompone's, was certainly that which they intended should be communicated from them to the States, and for that reason (as the letter mentions) transmitted to me, to save the time of conveying it by England. I suppose some little mistake in the construction of my former letter made you think, I intended not so much as to answer Monsieur Pompone's, without orders from England: for you will since have found that I did

it by the very next post; but that it was, by my good fortune, in the very same form, as well as substance, that your last instructed me; and that I did not only take your particular notice to him of my not having communicated his letter to the States without his Majesty's orders, but again repeated that circumstance in my answer to a letter of the French Plenipotentiaries about the same time; a copy whereof I sent you inclosed, together with that of my memorial yesterday to the States. You will lately have found in my secretary's papers, the mention of a conclusion made in the treaty of commerce between Sweden and this State; and yet not long after an accord here entered into with the Dane, of equipping a joint fleet against next campaign in the Baltic. I found in my last letters from England, the first was thought a little mysterious; and, since the last has relation to the course of his Majesty's mediation, I think it will become me to give his Majesty some account of the true springs in both.

The first was a business that arose wholly from the Swedes, and was negotiated at Stockholm, particularly, by Monsieur Ehernsteyn. The public intention in it there, was, to make such a treaty serve for some introduction towards another, by which a suspension of arms at sea might follow between that Crown and this State. By this means Sweden would, in probability, be able to succour Pomerania next campaign; and this State would not, perhaps, have seen it very unwillingly, in case matters on this side, and the dispositions in France had drawn on towards the general peace. The private motions of that treaty sprang from Monsieur Ehernsteyn's desire to value himself by being instrumental in restoring, at least, the beginnings of some good intelligence between his Master and this State; having himself been always averse from the breach, and now seeing the counsels that pro-

noted it so much decried in Sweden from the unhappy events. And this was all the mystery of that treaty.

The States, though they approved the treaty of commerce, yet they confirmed not the private articles confirmed by Sweden in order to a suspension of arms by sea; though I did not observe any great aversion towards it; but, on the contrary, a resolution, at least, of not arming this next summer in the Baltic, though they had been for three months past very warmly pressed to it by the Danish Ministers. But when the first news came of the defaults in the French passports, they began to conclude, that France was not at all in earnest upon the business of the congress, which they guessed not more from the point about Lorrain, than from that of couriers; without the liberty whereof, they esteemed no negotiation could have any effect, and the prejudice would be infinitely greater to France and Sweden in point of intelligence, than to the confederates themselves.

The States thought this counsel of delaying or breaking the congress proceeded from an expectation in France of some great design, wherein they expected the success, either in Naples, or Sicily, or in Poland. And knowing the endeavours of the French Minister at the Porte, and the other in Poland, to bring about a peace this season between the Turk and that Crown, they suspected most the falling down of the Poles upon the Duke of Brandenburgh in the ducal of Prussia. The Danish and Brandenburgh Ministers here made a good use of this apprehension in the States, and prevailed with them to clap up an agreement with Denmark, for arming a joint fleet next summer in the Baltic, very much against their former resolution, and wholly to the disappointment of all that Sweden had proposed to themselves by their treaty of commerce.

This I reckon upon as the first important effect of the defaults found in the French passports; and if the States continue in the same opinion of the French indisposition to the treaty, or of their designs to bring in the Pole upon the Duke of Brandenburgh, they will give in vigorously with the confederates, to drive the Swedes wholly out of the empire next summer, to which they would otherwise not easily have been induced.

This leads me necessarily to another, which it may be fit likewise for his Majesty to know. The expence of this State in the war, joined to the diminution of their trade, seems to disable them any longer from prosecuting it than this campaign; and, indeed, their counsels in it hitherto are chiefly animated by the great steadiness and influence of the Prince of Orange. The House of Austria foreseeing this, have framed a new scheme of taking off from this State all the subsidies they pay to the allies, after this campaign, of Spain continuing to pay them their part, and of the allies, especially Denmark, Brandenburgh, and Lunenburgh, contenting themselves with the other moiety (now paid by the States) upon a general treaty to be entered into by all the confederates for a guaranty of the conquest made last year, or that shall be made this year upon the Swedes in Germany; which, they think, will be an advantage to the last-named confederates, and the Bishop of Munster greater than half of the present subsidies. And for those to Mentz and Trier, as well as the Emperor, Spain will take them wholly upon themselves, as, indeed, the Emperor has not, for this year past, at all pressed the States for these payments by treaty made due to him. The Spanish and Imperial Ministers are pretty confident of bringing this to pass; and that, upon it, the States will be able to continue the war with ease; and if not with the same

number of troops, and as principals in it, yet, at least, as accessaries, and with a body of about twenty thousand men in Flanders. Several of the States tell me, they will not consent to give such a guaranty, foreseeing it must engage them in a long war: and the Prince himself will not, I believe, give into it, till he sees the events of next campaign, or the utmost that France will insist upon in the treaty. For my own part, I apprehend it as an affair that may go far towards the continuance of a long war, and, consequently, the ill success of his Majesty's mediation, and therefore thought fit to give his Majesty the early advices of it.

Though the King may have had reason to stop Mr. Skelton's journey at present, whose errand to the Emperor would not, perhaps, have had good grace whilst France persists in the refusal of the Duke of Lorrain's title and thereby the passport that may bring him to the treaty; yet if his Majesty should have the fortune to surmount these difficulties about the French passports, I do not think he will have reason to be discouraged in his intended applications to the Emperor, upon this State's excusing themselves from joining with him in it: for, upon some discourse with the Imperial and Spanish Ministers here, I find them both absolutely of opinion (though they profess it to be but personally their own) that the Emperor will certainly give that point of Prince William to his Majesty's intercession, whenever it is particularly and formally made to him. And both those Ministers have promised me, to engage all their credit at the Court of Vienna towards this success upon Mr. Skelton's arrival there, which I thought was an office his Majesty would approve of, though I was not encharged with it.

I have received his Majesty's ratification of the late article agreed upon here concerning the free

trade from enemy's port, which shall be exchanged to-morrow, and shall be sent you by the first yacht.

I ask your pardon for the length of this trouble, and remain, your, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, Feb. 11, N. S. 1676.

I WAS extreme glad to find by one from you, which Sir Gabriel Sylvius gave me at his arrival here, that you had so good hopes of wearing off that indisposition in which your former had left you; and that you had already begun to use your legs, which, I doubt not, will recover themselves by exercise, with the help of the season, and thereby restore you to the air and entertainments you used to be pleased with, and the liberty of attending his Majesty's affairs, as well as your own.

I suppose Monsieur Van Beuninghen never wants discourse so much, as for a help of it to introduce that about the pacquet-boats; and, perhaps, he does not think fit to begin one where you are more concerned than his Masters, of how small consequence soever it be. Therefore I have not renewed it here, but whenever you make the trial, and find any stop from either his want of power or will, to give you the satisfaction intended, I shall not fail to move it again to the Pensioner, and if need be, to the Prince, upon the least notice you please to give me of it.

We will, if you please, leave off any further mention of what passed in our former letters, upon occasion of Sir Gabriel Sylvius's journey thither. I do believe what you tell me, there is no mystery in it: and yet, whenever we meet, I will tell you very frankly what I thought was once in design; which must have been very injurious to me, though

perhaps not so intended; and will upon it leave you to judge yourself, whether I was imposed upon by those from whom I received the knowledge of it: for, of my many weaknesses, that of my being credulous is none, especially where it is so unpleasant to make me suspect the good intentions of those few whose friendship I esteem, and would be glad to deserve. For the rest that you are pleased to say of the intentions he brings over, as to my own particular, they are of more honour to me than I at all pretend to; who shall ever live with persons that bear his Majesty's character, as my fellow-servants, whatever difference may be made by those we receive from our Master, according as he pleases to use us in order to his better service. I wish him, with all my heart, the honour of either finding or raising any dispositions here more agreeable to his Majesty's desires in what concerns the peace, than those I have yet been able to give account of. But I think it more for his Majesty's service, to give him a true one that he likes not, than a feigned or disguised one that he likes; which is the way to engage him in measures that will fail, and sometimes in retreats of little honour. Upon this subject I cannot but wish Monsieur Van Beuninghen had either understood his Masters better, or been less heard himself upon the business of Prince William before Mr. Skelton came over; and that, for the time to come, some difference were made between his talk and his memorials; since in the latter, I believe, he will be more cautious than in the other.

The Prince is out of town, and will continue so till Saturday. The congress is *accroché* by the exceptions made here from the confederates to the French passports for Spain and Lorrain; which you know the detail of as well as I, and, perhaps, by this time, better, in knowing the answer of the

French Court to his Majesty's last application. What I write now to Mr. Secretary Williamson, you will have your part in, either in his hands or the foreign committee; and beyond these we have nothing here stirs at present, but the common reports of Monsieur de Ruyter's victory over the French fleet, which I yet see no certain grounds for (though some appearance) from the advices that are yet come hither. I am your most faithful, humble servant.

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

Sir, Hague, Feb. 11, N. S. 1676.

I WAS extreme sorry to find, by the honour of one from you of the 24th past, that your late indispositions had been so frequent and so troublesome as you describe them. I hope you will find the return of your health with that of the season, which I very heartily wish, for his Majesty's sake as well as your own. In the mean time, I comfort myself with the belief I gather from your letters to my Lord Berkley, of which your last inclosed the copies, that your illness has reached no further than your body, and not at all affected or lessened the vigour of your conceptions, which have in those letters pressed the Court of France farther than I doubt they will easily yield, or can easily excuse. The success I must expect from England, having given Monsieur Pompone no encouragement to continue an immediate commerce between us here; which I suppose he had a mind to, upon pretence of gaining time, and might have been welcome to a man that considered his Master or his orders, as Monsieur Van Beuninghen does his, in his present ambassage.

I have given a full account, in my dispatch to-night to Mr. Secretary Williamson, of the late

treaty of commerce between Sweden and this State; which, I find, you think somewhat mysterious: and because I esteem that, and other particulars in that dispatch, necessary for his Majesty to know, I presume you will meet it certainly at the foreign committee, and therefore refer you to it.

They are here very full of the belief given them by the last Italian letters, of a great victory of Monsieur de Ruyter over the French fleet, and the extremity of Messina, if not relieved. The last I have reason to believe, from some letters I have received, and others of merchants I have seen; as likewise, that there has been an engagement between the two fleets; but for the successes and particulars of it, I do not find any ground of certainty from any advices yet arrived here, or the comparison of them from so many several places, because they seemed all derived from one source; which was a felucca come by chance into Naples with the reports of them. In case it should be true, it would be of great consequence, and make some change in the present scene of affairs, and dispositions towards a peace.

The Prince is out of town for a week a hunting, and is pleased to hear you are so keen upon that sport; and says, there are two places in England he will be sure to be at whenever he sees England; which are, your house at Enfield, and Sheen; though the fruits of one will be too weak a rival with him for the hunting at the other.

I am ever, with very much passion and truth, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, Feb. 18, N. S. 1676.

I AM to acknowledge both yours of the 1st and the 4th, which are come to my hands since my last of the 11th. Your first inclosed the Swedish passports, put into your hands by Monsieur Sparr; your last, the French papers, by Monsieur Ruvigni, containing the reasons of the most Christian King's refusing those passports insisted upon here in the passports of France. I have communicated both to the Pensioner; who, as to the first, remarked upon them the opinion of the clause for liberty of couriers, and that of the passports themselves expected for the Duke of Lorrain among their allies. He concluded, both were done by concert with France; and said, he did not believe they could be accepted in this form; but would acquaint the States with it, and give me their answer. He observed afterwards the date of them, and finding it old, he told me upon it, that he did not doubt but the Court of Sweden had changed their mind upon this matter since that time: that by the letters last week from Stockholm, Monsieur Romph, the States Minister there, had assured them, that the Court was resolved to expedite the passes in the very same form with that agreed upon by the confederates; and were absolutely of opinion, that the clause for liberty of couriers was necessary, and particularly so to themselves. And the Pensioner seemed to believe, that this matter, and the dispatch of the two Plenipotentiaries from Sweden, would soon be made, either by a Dutch vessel from Gottenburgh, or by a frigate to be sent from hence to that purpose.

As to Monsieur Ruvigni's paper, he told me it was a business of that importance, the congress de-

pending wholly upon it, that he would not advance his own opinion, without first knowing that of his Masters: that an answer had been made to my last memorial upon this subject, which should have been in my hands before this post, but consisting chiefly in the due acknowledgments of his Majesty's offices, and repeated instances to France for removing these difficulties; he thought now, that I acquainted him with the success, that it would be fit to enlarge it, but promised to take care that I should be possessed of it by next ordinary.

For my own part, I will confess to you, that I think Monsieur Ruvigni's paper a thing as strongly and as well reasoned, as I have seen any; and that I cannot but think they have right in what concerns the point of the couriers, since the prejudice to the confederates from that liberty cannot be, in any kind, equal with that of France using it ill; and the instances of what passed at Cologn and Aix la Chapelle are so pertinent, that I do not see how they can be disputed; especially, upon the offer of free passage between Nimeguen and Brussels. All that sticks, in my opinion, is the prejudice that France and Sweden will receive by the want of allowed intercourse with their Ministers: but of this they are themselves the best judges.

As to the point of Lorrain, I should likewise think the paper had reason too, if they grounded their title to Lorrain upon conquest, which is a very common right in the world, and universally allowed, when, at least, confirmed by time. But, in case that treaty of 1662 were attended with all those circumstances which the Pensioner, as well as Monsieur Serinchamps, have deduced to me upon this occasion, I doubt whether it will bear so much weight. But at this I can offer no judgment, without knowing the matter from that side as well as this; which I should be very glad to do, that I

might, if there be occasion, be better able to argue it with them here.

By what I can discover at first by discourses among them upon this subject, I am apt to think, that both the Prince and the States would be content to leave this matter wholly to be governed by his Majesty, and make him an arbiter in it, as well as a mediator, in case France would do the same. But I doubt whether they sit so loose from their allies, as to divide from them in it; or whether the several Ministers of the confederates here will make such a pace upon so important an affair, without new and precise orders from their Masters. However, I should be very glad to know, for my government hereafter, upon this or the like occasions, whether his Majesty would be content to have such offers made him, or rather declined, in their first rise? I know the use of them might introduce a very great authority to his mediation in the course of the treaty, and in points, perhaps, of greater moment than this. But whether his Majesty would willingly charge himself with absolute decisions, and pass over the respects of displeasing the parties, who might think themselves aggrieved by them, is what I know not. But, perhaps, it is not unnecessary for me to have, at least, some hint of his Majesty's dispositions in such cases, if they should fall in my way.

I leave the current news to my secretary, as you please to give me leave; but will add to it what I hear just now, that the match will be made, in all appearance, between the Duke of Lorrain and the Queen-dowager of Poland, Spain having given their consent to it; and, I believe, it is not without some eye upon the difficulties that, they say, the present King of Poland is like to meet with in his intended coronation. I am ever, Sir, your most humble servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, Feb. 25, N. S. 1676.

I AM to acknowledge the honour of both yours of the 8th and the 11th, since my last of this day se'nnight. I find both refer me to the further notices you expect out of France, concerning the difficulties at present depending in the business of the congress; and I can, as yet, give you as little light from hence. The Pensioner sent me excuses this morning, that the answer intended by the States to my last memorial, and to the reasons contained in Monsieur Ruvigni's paper, could not yet be ready, by reason of Monsieur de Lyra's absence, without whose communication, as Minister to the chief of their allies, they could not agree upon any resolution which concerned the union in general.

I sent him the paper put into your hands by the Swedish Ambassador, and desired upon it, that the passports of this State might be delivered to the Swedish Minister here. The Pensioner returned me answer, that he would move it to the States; but doubted, that it could not be till the form of passports were agreed on both sides, which ought to be the same to all parties. The short of the matter is this: France refuses the liberty of couriers, because they will not open their country to their enemies. Denmark makes the same difficulties, and for the same reasons. Sweden, for the contrary, desires the liberty of couriers between them and the Confederates; but these are resolved to allow nothing to Sweden in this point, but what France shall allow to Spain: and they are, for aught I see, upon the whole, very indifferent whether the thing be agreed one way or other, so it may be general to all the parties.

In the case you say had been proposed to you

by Sir Lionel Jenkins of what may happen to the domestics of the French Ambassador, if the treaty should not proceed; I should have thought myself obliged to protect them (even without receiving his Majesty's orders) to the utmost of my credit here; and I question not but that would serve such a turn as this, if there were occasion; and therefore, I think, his Majesty may be at ease on that side.

I am very well content to have little at this time to trouble you with, either from your own letters, or any thing else that passes here; having been now for four days confined to my chamber by a very painful illness, which has much indisposed me for this kind of exercise. I am ever, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, Feb. 28, N. S. 1676.

THIS morning I received the honour of yours of the 15th, with an account of his Majesty's first thoughts upon mine of the 18th, by which I shall govern myself for the discouraging any propositions of that kind arising here, either in this matter of Lorrain, or others, unless I receive new directions. The common belief here at this present is, that France will not insist so far upon the difficulties raised in the Lorrain passports, as to break the congress upon it; especially since Sweden is resolved to break from them in it. On this side, they make no haste to give me any answer upon the reasons of France represented to them on that subject, pretending still the absence of Don Emanuel de Lyra. But yesterday Monsieur Serinchamps shewed me a letter from his Master, where he said, he was sure he should not be abandoned by the Empire nor Spain in this point; and that they would neither be brought to the congress without the allowance of his title, nor to the peace without the restitution of his duchy. There

was a great deal in it acknowledging and applauding his Majesty's justice, in the offices performed upon this occasion towards France; and a great deal more, taxing very sharply the procedure of France in advancing pretensions upon such a treaty, wherein he said, were *toutes sortes de nullités;* but that he should be sorry to be put upon more large or public deductions of that matter, for the sake of the dead, and not only the late Duke, but those Ministers of France who were the instruments in that treaty. The reasons alledged in this letter were very short, and upon the same heads with those I sent you formerly from Monsieur Serinchamps' representation. He would not give me a copy of the letter, saying, his Master had so ordered him, and only to communicate it to me; because, he said, he would not be *obligé à des repliques en un tems ou les coups d'épee seroient plus de saison que ceux de plume.*

The truth is, the Lorrain, the Brandenburgh, and the Danish Ministers, would be well pleased to see the campaign end before the congress begins; and so are glad to increase all the difficulties lately fallen in. But these States are very desirous to have the congress formed, and press both the Spaniards and Imperialists to send their Plenipotentiaries to Nimeguen, whether the French come or no, since they are assured that the Swedes will. They pretend by it, to throw the blame of the war openly upon France; but the true spring of it is, the hope they have, that some overtures of peace may arise from the accidents of the war in the course of the campaign; and that they may be much better improved by his Majesty's mediation, when a congress is on foot, than by any private ways of negociation. For these reasons they have resolved yesterday at the committee of secret affairs, that a frigate shall be sent away to Gottenburgh, not only to exchange the passports

with Sweden, but to bring away their Plenipotentiaries, who will be ready there, as the Swedish Commissary here assures them. But this resolution is taken with the condition of their allies consenting, to which they are in hopes of inducing them.

The Prince coming to me this morning immediately after I received your letter, I told his Highness what you encharged me from his Majesty, concerning his answer to the Elector Palatine, which the Prince was very much pleased with; and desired me, of himself, to acquaint both the States and the allies with it, as a mark of his Majesty's justice in the mediation; which I shall do to-morrow, though I have not yet stirred out of my chamber, and write in pain. I am ever, Sir, your, &c.

To the King.

Hague, March 3, N. S. 1676.

May it please your Majesty,

Upon an occasion given me by my Lord Treasurer, in a clause of a late letter, mentioning a dispatch of Sir Gabriel Sylvius hither; I thought fit by his Lordship's hand to give your Majesty the fullest account I could of the Prince of Orange's dispositions and intentions in this great conjuncture.

I have since found, by discourse with Sir Gabriel Sylvius, that your Majesty thought his Highness might be made more sensible of the usage he has received, and ought to expect from Spain, in this confederacy. I did not forget, among other things wherein your Majesty instructed me, to say a great deal to him upon this subject. He still answered me, that he knew more of this than I could tell him: that it had gone so far in what concerned his personal interests with that Crown, as to make him tell the Duke de Villa Hermosa last campaign, that he took this manner of treatment from Spain, as a great

honour to him: for he was very sure, at a time wherein the least step he should make awry was of so great moment to that Crown, they would not use him so, if they did not think him a man of too much honour to prefer his own resentments before the public interests he was engaged in. And he added upon it, that they knew him, for he should not do it.

Upon another discourse of the House of Austria's depending so much upon his Highness's own dispositions, rather than those of the States, in the pursuit of their present alliances; his Highness told me a particular I had never heard before; which was, that one part of his oath as Stadtholder was, to take the care of keeping the States to the observation of their treaties, which he was resolved to do to the best of his power.

Last Friday his Highness, coming to me upon an illness that kept me in my chamber, told me all that had passed between him and Sir Gabriel Sylvius upon the subject of the peace; which all ended in this: that your Majesty desired a good peace, and that his Highness desired nothing more than a good one, but not an ill one; which, on the contrary, he would hinder if he could. That all the question was, what was a good peace? and upon that, had desired of Sir Gabriel Sylvius, as he had before done of me, to know your Majesty's mind, and upon what terms you desired or thought fit the peace should be made; that Sir Gabriel Sylvius had answered, you had given him no commission to give that scheme, and would reserve yourself till the treaty. Upon which his Highness had replied, that then, for his part, he would neither help nor hinder the peace: that it would be made when one of the parties were beaten out of the field, but not till then; unless your Majesty would declare to all the parties upon what terms you thought fit and desired to make it; and, in this case, it would be done in a week.

I tell your Majesty this, that for your better light you may compare it with the notes you receive upon this matter from Sir Gabriel Sylvius; and thereby know, whether the Prince's discourses are different to different persons; which I believe they are not, however they may be represented. And I am confident no reasonings can remove him from those intentions I have always given your Majesty an account of; unless the future events of the war, or new revolutions in the confederacy, should inspire him with new thoughts, or involve him in new necessities.

The Prince, in his last visit to me, told me, he believed one great part of Sir Gabriel Sylvius's errand hither was come out the other day. That he had fallen into discourse of the ill posture of the English forces here; the necessity of a person of quality being at the head of them; and my Lord Ossory's desire to serve him in that charge. That, upon the Prince's agreeing in those points, Sir Gabriel Sylvius pulled out a letter, and said it was one he had thought of writing to my Lord Arlington upon that subject, if the Prince approved it: that he read it to his Highness, who said, he thought it was well; and that he might send it, if he would. The Prince told me, he observed the paper was so worn in the creases, that he knew it was a thing brought out of England, and not written here, as Sir Gabriel Sylvius pretended; and believed, it was not only to go to my Lord Arlington, but that it came from him too: that he believed it was not a thing your Majesty knew of; and observed a clause in it, which he thought was put in on purpose to ingratiate it to your Majesty, though he had taken no notice of it to Sir Gabriel Sylvius.

I took this occasion to tell his Highness that your Majesty had talked with me, when I was last in England, of that point, as of a thing you would be

glad of, and that might be provided for by private concert between your Majesty and his Highness, upon the conclusion of a treaty you intended of a nearer alliance with this State, immediately after the general peace; which his Highness, I find, thinks will be the proper time for it; as I remember your Majesty thought too, when you discoursed it to me. I did not find any reflections or dispositions in the Prince different from what your Majesty has reason to desire them upon this occasion; and doubt not of seeing all other measures easy between you, in case your Majesty can have so much credit with France, or so much good fortune, as to help him out of this war with some honour and satisfaction.

Your Majesty will please to use this matter as a piece of confidence from the Prince to me; though I thought it fit to be told your Majesty, because I remember how averse you were last summer from suffering my Lord Ossory to come over during the war; and I thought you might be engaged in what you had no mind to, upon the Prince's seeming to press you with a circumstance of a new strain; or else be troubled to refuse what he seemed so much to desire. Whereas the thing has risen wholly in England, and not here, as will be represented to you; so that the matter is in your Majesty to do just as you please, without any danger of disobliging the Prince, who is but passive in it. And for that circumstance, which, I suppose, intended to value some body or other, by the show of extraordinary confidence, and to introduce some more private negotiations; it is a fruit that, I doubt, is not yet in season to be handled, nor will be before the general peace is made, which must make way for all nearer measures between your Majesty and the Prince; and I am the more of this opinion, because, I re-

member, it was absolutely your Majesty's when I left you.

I humbly beg your Majesty's pardon for this trouble, and your acceptance of that true and passionate devotion, wherewith I am, and shall be ever, your Majesty's most loyal, and most obedient subject and servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, March 10, N. S. 1676.

I AM to acknowledge yours of the 22d, and in it the significations of his Majesty's further and more resolved pleasure concerning what might be offered on this side towards his Majesty's arbitrage upon differences fallen, or like to fall in, between the parties. And by these orders I shall wholly govern myself in that matter as it occurs.

I received likewise in your inclosure new passports for the Spanish Plenipotentiaries, against which I do not think there will lie any exception: so that, if those for Lorrain were as forward, the congress would soon begin. But upon that point, I suppose, I may this post send you the States answer to Monsieur Ruvigni's paper, which was agreed on at Don Emanuel's return; and the Pensioner assured me this morning, it should be put into my hands before the closing of this pacquet.

Yesterday the Prince came to me, and told me he came from a conference they had with their allies, upon a letter from Monsieur Van Beuninghen, with the expedient his Majesty had discoursed of, both to him and Don Pedro de Ronquillo. His Highness told me, that for himself and the States, they would willingly fall in with whatever his Majesty should propose; but, to tell me plainly, there was not one Minister of any of their allies that liked

it in any kind. The Imperialists and Spaniards said, modestly, at the conference, that it was a thing wholly new; and therefore excused themselves from saying any thing to it, without orders from their Masters. The Danish and Brandenburgh said the same; but added, they were sure their Masters would not consent to it: that nothing could touch their sovereignties nearer, than that another Prince should give liberty to their enemies to pass through their countries. But, besides these arguments, his Highness told me, that they all concluded, that by it France would certainly gain their point, after having publicly laid a claim to Lorrain, and thereupon refused to give the style of Duke. I only tell you these as the Prince's discourses; for not having received any orders to propose the matter here, I have neither done it, nor can charge myself with giving any answer to it from the States: but the Pensioner told me this morning, that would be done to-night by letters to Monsieur Van Beuninghen. At the same time he desired me from the States, to know from Monsieur Sylvercroone, the Swedish Commissary here (who has much pressed both them and me for the dispatch of their passports), whether he desired the exchange of them separately, and before that of the French passports were concluded, or no: for if he did, both the States and their allies were very likely to consent to it. I desired to be excused from performing this office; for, his Majesty having undertaken the mediation of a general peace, I took myself to be encharged with all offices that any way tended towards it; but with none that were aimed at any separate measures between the parties; and therefore would not meddle, without his Majesty's orders, in any separate concert or exchange of passports between them and Sweden.

The Pensioner seemed a little surprised, but said

he would speak with Monsieur Sylvercroone himself about it; since I did not think it, as the States had done, to be properly the part of a mediator. The thing was sudden; and this occurred to me, at the present, as most agreeable to what I conceived of his Majesty's scope and general sense, in the draught of those instructions brought over by Sir Lionel Jenkins. However, I should be glad to know whether it be what his Majesty approves of, that I may have the more light for my future government.

I communicated to the Pensioner the Commissioners paper concerning revisions, and his Majesty's orders to me upon it. The Pensioner told me he was this night going out of town, towards the Skincksconce, but would communicate it to the States immediately upon his return. In the mean time he would freely tell me his thoughts upon it; which were, that since a treaty had been concluded with those words, and ratified by the States, upon assurance given them by their Ambassador, and from you (as he pretended), that the intention was not to have the old way of revision altered, and brought before the States; and, though it was a thing contrary to the constitutions of their government; yet, since his Majesty pressed them to it, he thought that it ought to be done, rather than break the words of a treaty concluded. That he was likewise of opinion, it should be made of as little expence as any other matters of that kind are subject to here. But to make it without any expence, as was proposed, or salary, either to the revisors or persons summoned from the respective admiralties, was a thing wholly contrary to the orders of their State; and they could not be pressed to change them, when no treaty obliged them to it.

I went to wait upon the Prince this morning, upon his journey to Gelderland, being the first time

I have done it since my illness. His Highness's journey, as well as the Pensioner's, is chiefly intended for viewing the Skincksconce (the delivery of it to the States being absolutely agreed with the Duke of Brandenburgh), and for resolving whether it will be necessary to continue this fort, or to build another, and thereby endeavour to change the course of the Rhine, which is grown of late to throw so much of its water into the Waal, as to spoil the channel both of the old Rhine and the Yssel, which they think is necessary to be remedied. Another reason of the Prince's journey was, an interview agreed with the Marquis de Grana at Cleve; but he has been now here three days with the Prince, is gone this afternoon to Brussels, and, having spoke with the Duke de Villa Hermosa, will return hither to meet the Prince, when he comes back from his journey, on Saturday or Sunday next. His business is, to concert the manner of carrying on this campaign on all hands. He has made me two visits since his being in town, discoursed much of his Master's desires of peace, and would have a declaration of the contrary in France, from the difficulties raised by this new pretence to Lorrain; and speaks very broad of their conduct in this matter, as, indeed, all the rest of the confederates are apt to do upon all occasions. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, March 17, N. S. 1676.

Since my last of the 10th I have had nothing to trouble you with from hence; the Prince and the Pensioner having been both out of town till last night. I am sorry mine was not come to your hands before the dispatch of yours of the 29th past, by which I received orders to propose to the States, in his Majesty's name, the expedient that came to

them last week from Monsieur Van Beuninghen; who has, I presume, before this time given you an account of its reception here; at least, what I writ you from the Prince's own discourses will have given you light into that matter. I went to his Highness this morning, immediately upon receipt of yours, and acquainted him with the orders it brought me. He told me, that I knew best what I had to do; but if he might advise me, I should defer making the proposition to the States, till the next pacquet from England; before which his Majesty would find, by the Pensioner's answer to Monsieur Van Beuninghen, what reception that was like to meet with: and for his Highness's part, he should be sorry to see his Majesty's name engaged, formally, in a matter that would be refused. I argued this point as far as I was able, as to the fairness and indifferency on all sides, and prejudice it would bring to none. The Prince grounded all the difficulties upon the allies; who, he said, were unanimous in declining it, and some with sharpness, though others with coldness, but such as looked enough like refusal. For he had never before, at any of their conferences, observed Monsieur de Lyra to avoid concluding one way or other; or to refer himself to new orders from Madrid, as he did in this. The Prince added, that he would not judge what reason those Ministers might have, that pretended it would too far touch their Prince's sovereignty; but, he confessed, he thought they had reason in saying it would be a yielding the point to France, at least, indirectly; and that it might have been done easier at first, and with less prejudice to the Duke of Lorrain, before France had pretended a right to that duchy. His Highness had heard, by this day's letters from France, that the most Christian King had already consented to this expedient, and to the liberty of couriers, provided they kept

their straight roads. I confessed I had heard the same this morning, by Monsieur Sylvercroone's letters from the Swedish Minister at Paris; but that I had understood the meaning of that Court's expedient was, that the other passes should be granted reciprocally by the parties, but his Majesty should give those of Lorrain alone, with the French approbation and enforcement of them. His Highness replied, that could less be done than the other; for they were bound by treaty to procure all their allies passports in the same form with their own; that he believed the States would not part from their treaties; but if they should be inclined to it, he was bound by his oath, as Stadtholder, to keep them to them: and so he was sure he would do, as far as he was able. I told his Highness, that upon the terms this matter stood, for aught I saw, the congress must break; and it was only their parts to consider and resolve, whether that imported them more or less than these punctilios, which would not gain or lose an inch of ground upon the treaty. The Prince replied, it was no punctilio, but a point of right on the one side or the other; and that his Majesty ought to judge, whether they had right in demanding the Duke of Lorrain's title, or France in refusing it. That he could not tell whether the congress would break or no; which depended upon France: but there were many here (and he was one of them), that believed they would have yielded this point of Lorrain, in France, if Monsieur Van Beuninghen would have been content not to trouble his head about finding out expedients in a matter that was so plain: and that by advices out of France he had reason to be of this opinion.

This was the sum of our discourses this morning; upon all which I have resolved to defer the making of this proposition to the States, in his Majesty's name, till my next letters, and his Majesty's

resolution, after he is acquainted with the dispositions it will meet with here. But when his Majesty has these lights, he will best judge how far to engage in it; and upon signification of his pleasure, shall immediately be obeyed.

In the course of this matter it must be observed, that several of the confederates, especially Denmark and Brandenburgh, are glad of any delays to the congress, till this campaign ends; and so improve all incidents towards that end, though without openly owning that disposition. The unhappiness is, that France has given them an occasion, which the States join with them in esteeming unreasonable, and so, I doubt, will not break from them in it; which they would certainly have done, in those of another nature; as they lately did when Denmark made a difficulty of granting the Swedish passports: whereupon the States ordered their Minister at Copenhagen, to let that Court know, that if they sent not the passports hither within six weeks, they would send those of this State without them; upon which, those of Denmark were immediately dispatched to their Minister here. And nothing has contributed more to the States resolution of sending a ship to Gottenburgh, for the Swedish Plenipotentiaries, than the difficulties made by the Danish Minister here about their passing by land. In short, this State grows jealous upon the discovery of any design, in any of their allies, to continue the war upon advantages of their own wherein this State has little concernment. And such they esteem all the pretensions on foot, except that of Spain, in securing and enlarging the frontier of Flanders. Nor has France any way to break their constancy in pursuing the war, but by giving the *tort* to the confederates, of delaying the peace (at least till the fortune of arms make a decision between the parties). On the other side, the allies

find no better ways to animate the States, than by giving the *tort* to France of declining the treaty; which they have made good use of, upon this difficulty about Lorrain. And, for my part, I am at an end of my prospect in this matter; and all my present hopes of either peace or congress will reach no farther than *fata viam invenient.* I am, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, March 20, N. S. 1676.

I AM to acknowledge the honour of one from you of the 3d, with several reasons for supporting the expedient lately transmitted from England, upon the difficulties in the Lorrain passports. I have made use of them in my discourses here, to prepare the way for my proposing it; if his Majesty continues in that mind, after having received the answer given Monsieur Van Beuninghen, which was made by a formal resolution, at a conference between the States and their allies; and containing, first, the profession of the several Ministers, that they could conclude nothing in it without new orders from their Masters: and then their own opinion, that it could not be accepted by them: ending in this, that Monsieur Van Beuninghen should be written to, for these reasons, to decline the project in the best and most decent manner he could. The reasons I urge upon them are answered with great modesty by those of the government here; saying, that if the quarrel, and consequently his Majesty's mediation, lay only between France and them, this, or any else that his Majesty proposed, would be easily accepted; but *qui a compagnon a maître;* and so laying the difficulty wholly upon their allies, who, it seems, are very unanimous in it. Upon what I find here of this nature to discourage

me from hazarding his Majesty's name farther without new orders; and upon that paragraph of your letter which tells me that all you had said upon that subject was but your own reasonings, and that you had not yet had the occasion of knowing his Majesty's mind upon it, which you expected to do on Sunday, at the foreign committee; I have yet deferred my proposal of it formally to the States, in expectation of the Sunday's letters, which are due to-day, whereas your last came but yesterday to me.

Yesterday Monsieur Sylvercroone, the Swedish Commissary, came to me, and gave me the knowledge of what had passed between him and the Pensioner concerning the Swedish passports, after I had excused myself wholly from meddling in it. The States sent one of their Deputies to the Commissary, to know whether he would give them, in writing, an assurance, that, upon their sending a ship and their passports to Gottenburgh, the Swedish Ambassadors would come away to Nimeguen. And this assurance the Commissary has given them in writing; and thereupon the Pensioner made him confidently hope the thing would be done; and told him, they would have a conference with their allies upon it yesterday in the afternoon; but, however, he desired me *d'y donner la main;* and would needs have me understand that there was nothing either in the States question, or his answer, that made any mention of France, or of any thing in it separate from them. But that he looked upon the difficulties about Lorrain passports as like to be easily surmounted, and then the French Plenipotentiaries would be at the congress in three days; whereas theirs had so long a journey, that he thought it was fit to lose no time. I again excused myself, absolutely, from making any pace in this matter, after the States had given me reason, by the Pensioner's discourses, to believe they understood it as

a measure separate from France. He said a great deal to justify his own conduct; which I heard coldly, till he would needs know my opinion of it; upon which I told him, I could neither commend nor disapprove it, without seeing his orders, which, I supposed, he would not shew me; and till he did, I desired him to be content without any opinion of mine in this case. We passed afterwards into more general discourses of the war, and the peace; by which I found his great apprehensions of the ill posture the Swedish affairs may fall into this summer, by the divisions of their counsels in Sweden, as well as the strength of their enemies abroad; and that, if France could not help them by fleets or armies, their money could not make them a match for so many confederates as they had to deal with: that they had more reason to press the congress than France; one being so much upon the losing, and the other upon the gaining hand: that when they came to it, they would do nothing without France, in case they should be there before them; but, he believed, they should use their best offices towards inducing France to a treaty, which was of so great importance to Sweden; and he thought the French might do something for an ally that had suffered so much for them.

This I take to be the secret of this interview, which the Ministers here are fallen into with Monsieur Sylvercroone, being grounded upon a likeness of interests and dispositions towards advancing it, whenever the treaty begins. I hear besides, from some of the Ministers here, that there is a private article in the last treaty between France and Sweden, by which France has obliged themselves to see the Swedes restored to all they might lose by this war, in case of ill successes in it: and this, they think here, will make Sweden press France the harder upon a peace, the more they grow out

of hopes to recover by arms what they have already lost. Which makes this State very desirous to bring the Swedes to the place of congress; and the rather, because they esteem the two Ambassadors designed from Sweden, to be of the party that was no friend to the war.

In the mean time, the Danish Minister here has made a great deal of noise upon the Pensioner's entering into conference with Monsieur Sylvercroone, and upon the States receiving a paper from him; which they refused to do from Monsieur Ehernsteyn for several months before he went away, after the war was opened. The conference that was to be held yesterday upon this matter with all the allies, was put off till this afternoon, for want of the Brandenburgh Minister, who was to be in town this morning. I am not sure I shall know, before the closure of this pacquet, what the result will be; but, by what I can make of the dispositions on all sides, I am apt to believe the thing will be agreed; the Imperial and Spanish Ministers falling in with the intentions of the State; and the Danes apprehending to give them too much jealousy of their designs, to break, or at least defer the congress till this campaign ends. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, March 24, N. S. 1676.

SINCE my last of the 20th, I have none from you, though a pacquet be come in; and I expected from your last on the 3d, to know his Majesty's mind in your next, concerning my formal proposing the late expedient, after the knowledge given you of the first reception it met with here. I have been since endeavouring, all I could, to make better way for it, in case his Majesty continue his pleasure of having it done, notwithstanding the former

discouragement. I have since talked with several that are in the councils here, as well as with the Pensioner, upon that subject, but can gain no ground with any of them. After all my reasonings with the Pensioner, and telling him the orders I had to make the formal proposition, and desiring him to give a hand to it, as the only way left to keep up any appearance of the congress; he told me, that he could not undertake to say what would be the States mind; but he had very good presumptions from knowing what it had been: for though mine would be, perhaps, a more formal way of proposing it, yet Monsieur Van Beuninghen's was, as he has writ them, from the King's own mouth, and thereupon was considered and debated by the States, and with their allies, in the same manner that mine would be; and therefore he was confident, it could have no other reception. For the States, he said, they would be very glad to receive it, or any other advance towards the treaty; but that no one Minister of their allies, but had expressed a dislike to it: the Emperor's Resident had said, that besides his Master, he would engage his head, it would be refused by the Princes of the Empire. The Pensioner added, that besides the delays of new orders, to which they all had recourse, the thing would be represented at the several Courts by the Ministers here, who were all prejudiced against it; and I might judge what was to be expected from the impressions they were like to give: that it was impossible for the States to break from their allies in this matter, having delayed so long the treaty at Cologn, upon the point of Lorrain, when they were in so much worse condition than now; that they had reason to hope his Majesty would prevail with France, in a point wherein he had always assured Monsieur Van Beuninghen there should be no dif-

ficulty. He offered to send me several of Monsieur Van Beuninghen's letters with that assurance; but I told him, I believed easily his Majesty did not foresee it, and was surprised with it when it came first from France, and sorry to meet with it. But the case was now to find out an expedient, since France was unmoveable upon the offices his Majesty had already performed in that Court; and that their parts were to consider, whether the congress imported them so far as to pass over such forms as were of no consequence at all to the substance of the treaty; or whether they were content the congress should absolutely break upon them. He answered me, that if it broke on the French side, and upon a point so unjust, they must have patience; that he saw very well France would force this State upon the resolutions of continuing the war, which was both against their mind, and against their interest; but if it must be so, and Spain would find a way to relieve them of the subsidies they paid abroad; *nous ferons bien voir à la France, que nous ne sommes pas encore hors d'haleine.* I tell you his words, because they are of a strain that I had never heard from the Pensioner since my coming over; all his discourses having used to carry a bent to the peace, and an opinion of its necessity. But upon this occasion, and some heat it gave him, he told me, they had ordered Monsieur Hemskerke to make the proposition at Madrid; and he doubted not but it would be accepted, if ever the galleons arrived, or they could be persuaded in Spain to cut off all pensions for three years.

I gave you a hint some time since of this being upon the anvil among the confederates, but did not imagine it would work up very fast; because I foresaw it must draw on a guaranty of the last conquests upon Sweden: but that will not need,

if Spain should be able to pay the whole present subsidies; and I perceive this State hath now a prospect of other measures with Sweden, than they thought of at that time.

I have reasoned upon this expedient likewise with the Marquis de Grana, upon his return from Brussels. He adds one thing more to what I hear against it from the rest; which is, by asking how his Master the Emperor can leave such a discontent at heart of a Prince, to whom he hath already intrusted a great part of his forces, and is resolved to commit the charge of his whole army this year, in case any difficulties should happen in Count Montecuculi's coming to command it. I believe his journey hitherto hath had effect upon the hopes of the confederates, by the assurance he hath given them, that his Master's army shall be in the field and encamped before the 20th of April, and stronger than in any of the last campaigns. What I believed of the conference among the confederates held at the time of my writing last, proved true: they agreed upon sending their passports and a ship of this State for the Swedish Plenipotentiaries; though the Danish Ministers were brought to it *à reculons*. But I find here, that Monsieur Romp, Envoy of this State at Stockholm, hath not only assured them that they will send their Plenipotentiaries away to Nimeguen upon the arrival of the ship, but they will come instructed to do all they can to procure a sudden general peace; and if that cannot be composed, to make a particular peace for that Crown: and he writes them word, that a resolution of the Senate is already passed to this purpose. Though this whole matter passeth between the States and Monsieur Sylvercroone, without any mention of France; and he gives it to me a very good turn, of only hastening the delays necessary to so long a journey; and pretending to believe

these difficulties raised by France, upon the matter of passports, may possibly have been occasioned, because they would not come to the congress before the Swedes could be there; yet, I see plainly, the States reckon upon the Swedes coming to Nimeguen, though the difficulties with France should continue; and, consequently, that there will be a congress this summer, whether the French Plenipotentiaries come to it or no. And this I thought fit his Majesty should have early advice of, that he might order his measures accordingly, in case it should happen, and consider how far the progress of such a matter should be attended and observed by his Ministers; and whether with any endeavours, either public or private, either of assisting or opposing it.

The Emperor's Minister here hath, in the late conferences among the confederates, made great complaints of Mr. Skelton having received at Norimberg the orders sent him to make a halt in his journey, had, notwithstanding, gone afterwards from thence to Ratisbone, and resolved to make his stay there; and had fallen into many secret conferences with a French gentleman, who is a Minister of the Duke of Bavaria there. That by it he had raised great reflections among the Ministers of the Emperor and the confederate Princes, especially upon observation that many of these meetings had been in the night, or else at places out of town, that seemed chosen expressly for the secrecy of them. The States answered at the conference, that they did not think these circumstances of weight to be taken notice of to his Majesty, as Monsieur Campricht desired. However, both the Prince and Pensioner told me of it, though without pretending to make any complaints: and I told them my own belief, that there could be nothing of this kind by any commission of his Ma-

jesty's; and that what was, might be only personal acquaintance and conversation between themselves.

Mr. Meredith told you last week of eight ships of war gone out of the Texel, without any noise of their preparation or dispatch. I hear certainly, they are twelve or fourteen, and commanded by one Bringist (as I remember his name is), who is Vice-admiral of Friezland, and a very bold man. I am assured of a thousand land-men aboard; but the whole hath been carried on by the expense of the Admiralty, without any supply from the State; and with such secrecy, that I cannot possibly learn upon what design. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To the King.

Hague, March 27, N. S. 1676.

May it please your Majesty,

I RECEIVED by the last letter from Mr. Secretary Williamson the knowledge of a justification, made him by a Danish Envoy at London, of the Danish Envoy's carriage and expressions here, upon the proposal of your Majesty's late expedient transmitted by Monsieur Van Beuninghen. Besides what I have written upon this subject to Mr. Secretary, I could not but take notice of a proceeding so disingenuous, as to let your Majesty know, that the Prince, telling me how that proposal was received by the allies, added, that one of them said, among other warm things, *Qu'on ne pretendoit pas se mettre sous le tutele du Roy d'Angleterre.* His Highness said, he would not tell me who it was: and I replied, he needed not; for I knew the style too well, not to be sure it was Monsieur Meyercroon's: the Prince confessed it was so, but desired me not to speak of it: I do it now only to your Majesty; and that your Majesty may see how far you may rely upon the discourses of such fo-

reign Ministers, who say only what they think will please, instead of what they know is true. If your Majesty desireth to make any farther use of this than your own information, I will ask the Prince leave to tell it; if not, I hope your Majesty will manage his Highness's credit with his allies, and mine with him; and that you will please to pardon this interruption from, Sir, your Majesty's most loyal and most obedient subject and servant.

To Mr. Secretary Williamson.

Sir, Hague, March 27, N. S. 1676.

By yours of the 29th past, I received orders to propose his Majesty's late expedient formally to this State; but upon the Prince of Orange's advice, I gave you notice of my deferring it till his Majesty's pleasure were known, after the account I had given of its reception here upon Monsieur Van Beuninghen's transmitting it from his Majesty's own mouth, and a formal conference between the States and all their allies upon it. By yours of March the 3d, I received the notice of that account being come to your hand, but was referred to the next for knowledge of his Majesty's mind upon it, after the producing it the Sunday following at the foreign committee. The Tuesday's post after that, brought me nothing at all from you; but the next Friday's post being now come in, brought me yours of the 10th current, which says not a word more to me upon this whole matter, but that his Majesty expected the States and their allies answer upon the point. I thought it my duty, immediately upon receipt of this letter, and consideration of the former circumstances, to put in the inclosed memorial with the formal proposition of it to the States; though I had, in two late ones of mine, given you account, both from the Prince's and Pensioner's, and several

others discourses, what success I had reason to expect, and, consequently, why I delayed it till farther orders. I know very well, that the Count d'Estrades, in his embassy here, received twice positive orders from the King his Master, to propose things in his name to the States, which had been grounded upon Monsieur Van Beuninghen's discourses in that Court; but the Count, finding that they would be refused here, suppressed his orders, and sent his Master word, that he had done so, because he would not expose his Majesty's name and honour in a thing wherein he was sure to be refused. I know very well his conduct was both approved, and he received thanks for it from the most Christian King. I confess, mine should have been the same upon this occasion, if I had not known my want of credit to support me; and that, in such cases, it is fit for such a man only to obey, which must be my part; and therefore it will be yours to expect it from me, and to consider how I am instructed. I could not yet receive any answer to my memorial, because they would be sure to do nothing in it without a conference with their allies; but shall press them to it with diligence, and with wishes that I may find myself deceived in the measures I have taken here, or given from hence in this matter; though I do not remember to have yet failed in those I have hitherto given you, in any one point, and should be glad to be put in mind of it if I do.

For those given his Majesty by the foreign Ministers about him, I think you have had some experience of late how they are to be relied upon: and though they may be excused, as proceeding from so good and so important a design, as I suppose they have, of making their court well to his Majesty, by such advances or compliances as have been lately among them; yet, I doubt whether

you have reason to ground upon them so far in matters where his Majesty's service may be concerned.

I told the Prince that Don Pedro de Ronquillo had approved of his Majesty's expedient there; upon which his Highness replied, that it might be so; but he was sure he had written to Don Emanuel de Lyra in a very different style. You now tell me, that the Danish Envoy there came on purpose to you, to justify their Minister here, upon his having been represented from hence to have opposed and argued against his Majesty's expedient; whereas he never had expressed any dislike or prejudice to that matter. I desire you will please to tell your Danish Envoy from me (at least if you think fit), that I will leave that matter to be disputed by Monsieur Meyercroon with the Prince of Orange and the Pensioner Fagel; who both told me very much the contrary, and I own to have written so from their mouths. And since he brings me into the lists upon this occasion, I do not only name my principals, but I question not to find so much credit with some of the Ministers of the allies here, as to know some remarkable words of Monsieur Meyercroon's upon this occasion at the conference, which will be very fit for his Majesty to know, whether he pleases to discourse them or no.

I will add but one word more upon this subject; which is, that what measures I give you of this kind, I have from the Prince's and Pensioner's discourses; in which I have not yet found myself deceived, nor ever known their opinions contested by the States here, once since my coming over, in any matter that concerned peace or war, or any foreign alliances.

On the other side, if you doubt of my giving you other lights at any time than they give me, I am

content you should send any letter of mine over to them by another hand, and know whether I have either deceived, or been deceived in my reports from their discourses with me. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, March 31, N. S. 1676.

In my last letter of the 27th, I gave you an account of my having proposed his Majesty's expedient formally to the States. But having done it after many discouragements, in my several discourses with the Prince, Pensioner, and other Ministers of this State, as well as their allies, and without any direct orders from his Majesty, after he had received the knowledge of those discouragements; I was in some pain to judge whether I had done well or no, till I was eased of it by yours of the 14th, which brought me his Majesty's positive command to that purpose. I have yet no answer to my memorial, nor can expect it before this post goes away, this afternoon being appointed for the conference between the States and their allies upon it. Yesterday was the conference of the Commissioners with the Prince; who told me, the States continued of the same mind they were; which was, that they could not break from their allies in this point, notwithstanding their desires to comply with any thing that should be proposed by his Majesty. He added, that the Ministers of the confederates here would, he believed, make no other answer, but that having no power to conclude upon such a point, they would report it to their respective principals, and expect their orders.

I told the Pensioner, since my last, the justification that had been made you there, by Monsieur Gloel, of the Danish and Brandenburgh Ministers carriage here upon this matter, and what I had

written to you upon it, of my leaving Monsieur Meyercroon to dispute that matter with the Prince and him. The Pensioner replied, that he knew very well he should not be troubled with any such dispute; for neither Monsieur Meyercroon nor Blaspyle would say that to him, which they were said to have written into England. That the warmth of Monsieur Meyercroon had been greater than any other Minister's here; and Monsieur Blaspyle had that very morning told him again, that the more he had thought of that expedient, the more he found it impracticable; because not only the form of the passports must be left to his Majesty, but in case of any difficulty, or breach of them, which should occasion disputes among the parties, the interpretation of them must be left to his Majesty too: nor could it easily be found out how the violator of any such passport should be punished; which was proper for every Prince to do in case of his own subjects, as it was a right that could not be given up to another.

That you may have one instance more, how ingenuously you are dealt with by the foreign Ministers with you in this matter; the Prince told me, that Monsieur Van Beuninghen writ in his last letter, that he was encouraged to press this matter still by the hopes I gave his Majesty, that it would be accepted here: whereas you know what the style of my letters has been upon this subject, from my very first discourses with the Prince; nor could they have been true if they had been otherwise. Nor shall I ever give his Majesty any representations that I do not think to be right and true, till he shall please to tell me, that he had rather be deceived with false lights, than be displeased with true ones.

Upon what you tell me, of a resolution of the States, that came by chance to your hands, bearing

date the 20th of March, which was the day the Prince first spoke to me of this matter; and that it would have been well that you had received a copy of it earlier from my hands: I will confess, I knew such a resolution was taken, but not at all the words or particulars of it; and that about four or five days after, I saw a copy of it, and in my next letter sent you an account of what was in it. But it is not a thing you must expect of me, to be able to give you copies or accounts of such resolutions; though you call them resolutions of the States General: whereas, though they pass for such, and have the authority of them; yet, they are so far from being so, that many times the States General know nothing of them in three months after they are taken. And though you are pleased to say, that copy came to your hands by chance, yet, I am sure, it must have come by Monsieur Van Beuninghen, or some others of the States Ministers in other Courts; or else by the Ministers of some of their allies. And upon this occasion, it will be fit to inform you, of a constitution in this State, which, I suppose, you are not acquainted with; but which is become the chief resort of the government here.

In the war between his Majesty and this State, begun the year 1665, Monsieur de Witt proposed and procured a commission to be granted by the States General to eight Commissioners, of which, two Holland, and one of each other province; who were called the Commissioners of secret affairs. These were then chosen of such men who were perfectly in confidence with him. Power was given them by their commission to deliberate, to act, to execute, in all matters that were referred to them by the States, with the same authority that the States themselves could do; and yet the liberty of doing it with such secrecy, that they were not bound to give any account of what they resolved to the

States, but at such times as they themselves thought fit. The matters referred to their management were, all that concerned the war, any foreign alliances, the proposals and even conclusions of treaties, in case they were esteemed necessary to be kept secret for a time upon particular reasons of State. All resolutions taken by these Commissioners were signed by the Deputy, as president, who was of the same province with the President of the States General, who was the only officer that attended these Commissioners in their secret deliberations. These resolutions so signed were sent to their Generals, Admirals, Ambassadors, and other public Ministers abroad, for their instructions, by which they acted; and were observed and obeyed as the resolutions of the States General, who had, indeed, only the name and form, whilst these Commissioners had the whole management of peace and war: and the disposal of offices and levies of monies remained (as you know) in the provincial assemblies. It was with these men I concluded that treaty in 1668, in five days time, which made so great a change in the measures of Christendom: and Monsieur de Witt there told me, that by this institution the government had avoided those two reproaches usually laid upon commonwealths, of wanting secrecy in their counsels, and suddenness in their executions.

Upon the last change of the government here, and the restoring of the Prince of Orange to the post of his ancestors, this institution of Monsieur de Witt was thought fit to be continued; but with this only change, they were first to consult with his Highness before they passed any resolutions; which, in short, has devolved the whole power and management of affairs upon the Prince in conjunction with these Commissioners; of whom the Pensioner is one, and hath the influence among the

rest that Monsieur de Witt had before. This, as you may imagine, is stomached by many in the province and the towns; but, however, it goes down; and being grown into a piece with the authority of the Prince, does not seem likely to change, but with the diminution thereof.

Yet the Pensioner, in any difficult cases, sometimes summoneth the Ministers of the twelve chief towns in the province of Holland to consult with: and upon the next assembly of the States of Holland, usually gives them an account of all matters that have been acted by the Commissioners since the preceding assembly, unless they judge the reason or necessity of secrecy to continue still. The Pensioner told me he had last week given them an account of all that had passed in the difficulties of the passports, and especially that of Lorrain; the resolution of their allies to stick to that point of having that Duke's style allowed him; and the opinion of the Commissioners, that this State was bound by their treaties to adhere to them in that pretence: that the States of Holland had unanimously approved of their conduct in this whole matter.

Now the resolution you mention of the States General, was a resolution of these Commissioners (who are called sometimes, of the secret, and sometimes, of the foreign affairs, which is, indeed, their proper business since the change of the government, the management of the war being left wholly to the Prince); nor do I believe the States General have yet any knowledge of that resolution; nor is it to be had otherwise than from the Prince, or one of these eight Commissioners, who are sworn to secrecy, or some of the Ambassadors or foreign Ministers of this State, to whom such resolutions are usually sent; to some for instruction, and for information to others who are in credit with the

government. This, I thought, might be very material for his Majesty and Ministers to know, as the main resort of the present government, and by which you may judge where the power lies, how it moveth, and what is often meant by resolutions of the States General, which is grown a term common to them and to these Commissioners.

I have delivered his Majesty's letters for the Emperor and Duke of Brandenburgh, to their respective Ministers here, so as you may reckon upon them as gone away by this day's ordinary. The Marquis de Grana is still here, detained, for these two or three last days, upon the endeavours of composing the pretensions of the several confederates to the past and future conquests in the duchy of Bremen; their dissensions having given some delay to the beginning of that siege.

The States of Holland resolved this last assembly upon the building of six ships, four whereof to be of eighty guns a-piece. I told the Prince, I believed they did it for a good countenance, and to make the world believe they were richer than they found themselves: his Highness smiled, and said, It might be so; but, upon France having so many ships, and of the greatest rate, he thought they might have reason here to look a little more about them: but, for himself, he had no part in this resolution, and would have been glad the money might have been employed this year upon the land-forces; that it was done by the States of Holland, and at the instance of the chief trading towns, especially Amsterdam and Rotterdam. I told the Prince, they might talk what they would of the French, and their growth at sea; but whensoever I saw them building ships here of that size, I should believe it was done with some reflections upon us. The Prince replied these words: "Shall I tell you the truth? you may be sure, while the world stands,

we will never fall out with England, if we can help it; but if you will fall out with us, whether we will or no, we should be sorry to be found unprovided." I said, I believed that would be as little as the other, now his Highness was where he should be. And so the matter ended. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, April 3, N.S. 1676.

SINCE my last of the 31st past, I have none from you; and intended not to trouble you this ordinary, had I not been engaged to it by an incident yesterday, of which it is necessary to give his Majesty an account.

In the morning Monsieur Sylvercroone came to me, and told me, the ship designed for Gottenburgh would be ready to sail to-morrow, and that Monsieur Mortagne was to go with the passports and the ratification of the late marine treaty. He told me, great talk had been raised in England of his pressing this dispatch; and justified himself upon his orders, as well as his intentions, only to save time in advancing the congress. In the afternoon the Greffier Fagel came to me from the States, to desire me that I would interchange the Swedish passports and theirs, which were both in my hands; they and the Swedish Ministers being both agreed upon it. I had recourse to your letter of March 3, wherein I found these words: "that his Majesty entirely approved my conduct in the matter of the Swedish passports, and my refusing to countenance any separate interchange of them. That his Majesty's office being one common and general mediation, and of one general peace, could not countenance or suffer any separate steps, in whatsoever kind they were made." Upon this, I thought myself obliged to refuse absolutely to deliver the pass-

ports of one or the other, unless the general interchange of all parties were agreed upon, or I received particular orders from his Majesty. The Greffier seemed much surprised at this answer; told me, the intention of this dispatch was only in order to a general peace, they hastening the arrival of those Ministers who were farthest off, and like to find most difficulty in coming to the congress: that the Swedish passports were sent hither from the States Envoy, and put into my hands by him, the Greffier, so as they might reasonably demand them again when they were agreed upon the exchange with the Swedish Ministers: that I had not made any difficulty of it when the Pensioner had spoken to me upon the first proposal of their sending a ship; and he supposed I would not do it now, when it was ready to go. I confessed the last; but said, I had since received the further knowledge of his Majesty's mind in cases of this nature: that it was true, I had received the passports by their hands; but with intention, as I understood, to reserve them for a general interchange: and repeated again, that I could not deliver them without his Majesty's order; but that I would not fail to acquaint him with it by this ordinary. Besides the words of your letter above mentioned, I considered his Majesty's being now engaged in the offer of the late expedient, which puts the business of the passports into another way. And, upon both these circumstances, I thought it my duty to make this refusal: though, I find, it will very much break their measures taken in this matter; and will be interpreted, or rather accused, both by them and the Swedish Ministers, as a delay of the treaty. I must refer myself to his Majesty's judgment, whether I have done well or no, and expect his orders either to pursue or amend it.

The conference upon my last memorial has been

put off till this afternoon, by three long conferences upon the business of Bremen; which is at length agreed, and the siege of Staden will go on.

I shall trouble you no farther, but to wish you the good feasts, and to assure you of my being, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, April 7, N. S. 1676.

The Pensioner told me this morning, I should be possessed of the States answer to my memorial concerning his Majesty's expedient, time enough to send it away this ordinary. He added farther, that this answer was made by a formal resolution of the States General themselves, and not by the Commissioners of the secret affairs. I hear it was resolved by these last, at their conference upon it, that, though all the rest of their allies should consent to it, yet, by their treaties, they (the States) could not do so, if Lorrain refused it. The Marquis de Grana received letters from the Emperor before he left this place, and Monsieur Campricht since, with orders, as they say, positively to refuse it. I am sorry to have given his Majesty so true measures of this matter from the very beginning; and should have been glad to find myself discredited by his Majesty's meeting with such a return upon it, as he was persuaded to expect by men that ought to have known more of their Masters mind than it seems they did. But since you were pleased to tell me, his Majesty's honour was not at all concerned in these kind of refusals, I have all the reasons that can be to be satisfied. Before that, I confess, I was of opinion, that it was not so in any proposals which his Majesty only handed from one party to another: but I was very solici-

tous to see nothing refused that came from his Majesty himself, and as his own.

Upon my positive refusal to deliver the Swedish passports, or those of the States for Sweden, without his Majesty's orders, they have not thought fit, it seems, either to attend that delay, or to lose the measures altogether which they had taken in that matter; and therefore have dispatched their ship for Gottenburgh, with new passports from the States, and orders to exchange them for new passports from that Crown.

The Count Montecuculi has excused himself from serving this campaign; and Monsieur Serinchamps tells me, that orders are already come to the Duke of Lorrain to command the Imperial army. The Prince says, he will go to-morrow night to Bergenopzoom, and so to the rendezvous. Whether he will make a step hither again before they march from thence, is uncertain. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, April 14, N. S. 1676.

Since my last of this day se'nnight, I am to acknowledge three of yours; one by a private hand, in pursuance of his Majesty's letter in favour of the Jews detained at Surinam; the others of the 21st and 28th past. I do not find either of the last contains any thing which requires answer; farther than to say, that I meet with nothing more here of noise or complaint concerning Mr. Skelton's stay at Ratisbone: what it may have occasioned in the Empire, Monsieur Ducker will, I suppose, entertain you with suddenly, as he did me yesterday here in his way to the Briel, from whence he designed to pass with this pacquet.

For Monsieur Van Beuninghen's last memorial, I find it of a different strain from the States answer to mine; and confess, this was different from what I expected; which was only the allies Ministers referring themselves to new orders from their Masters. But, I believe, they took a pride in shewing the ampleness of their powers to conclude matters of the greatest moment, in whatever concerns the confederacy, without any recourse to their Masters. Monsieur de Lyra told me the night before the conference, where that answer was agreed on, that he had never yet taken any thing *ad referendum* since he came hither, and that he would not begin now: that he had made a dozen treaties without any orders at all; that he had power to do whatever he thought would be for the service of his Master, without further instruction.

This morning the Brandenburgh Minister brought me the inclosed for his Majesty; and shewing me a copy of it, I told him that his Master had treated his Majesty's expedient something better in his letter, than his Ministers had done in their late conferences. He replied, that they had a general order to conform themselves here with the Ministers of the other allies, in all affairs relating to the confederacy: that they had done so in this matter, though their Master sat looser than the rest in it, having no particular treaty with the Duke of Lorrain, as the House of Austria and this State had. He told me, the young Prince of Brandenburgh was now *incognito* at Amsterdam, but going from thence suddenly towards Cassel, to pursue the match designed between him and the young Princess of Hesse.

You are pleased to say, in your letter concerning the Jews at Surinam, that you were informed from the person who brought me his Majesty's letter, that I had made some difficulty upon it, for want of

something more particular from you. He was an ill informer: for what I said to him was, that upon a difference I observed between the first clause of the petition, whereon his Majesty's letter was grounded, saying, the Jews complaining were free denizens of England; and a clause in the Governor of Surinam's answer to the Commissioners protest, saying, he had hindered no Jews from going that were free denizens of England; I thought it necessary for me to know which of those allegations were true; and wondered you had not said a word to me upon this matter in any of your letters, which you usually did upon the dispatch of such letters to me from his Majesty. He undertook to inform me of the truth in those allegations; and has since sent me word from Amsterdam, that, though they were not all free denizens, yet he was sure his Majesty's meaning was, to redeem them as if they were. And, I suppose, his double diligence put him upon troubling you with a letter upon what I said. I shall soon give you an account of this matter, if the Pensioner's absence for some days does not retard this, as well as other business. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir William Godolphin.

My Lord, Hague, April 14, N. S. 1676.

I HAVE the honour of one from your Excellency of the 25th past, by this ordinary, which gave me an account, with more certainty and particulars, of the rumour we had before concerning the arrival of the Spanish galleons. The reflections you make upon it are a true picture of mankind, and the motions that are frequently made in their minds by accidents that touch them, perhaps, no farther than their ears. The effects of this kind reach even to these parts, and, I believe, to the very extent of

this great confederacy. This place is now as dead as I have seen any great town, or seat of public business, the Prince being gone last week into the field, at least to the first rendezvous of his troops near Rosendale, and with him all the company that used to fill this place. The disgrace of the Chancellor in Denmark, and the preparations for the siege of Staden and Philipsburgh, take up most talk here at this time; but will, I suppose, soon give way to the actions now likely to begin something nearer us; the French designs upon Ypres, Aire, or Charlemont, or some other considerable place in Flanders, being like to open a great scene there. The forces of the confederates will certainly be very great, as well as those of the French; and seem all to conspire towards a very active and bloody campaign.

The talk of the congress seems so out of date, that I am concerned for Sir Lionel Jenkins's melancholy post at Nimeguen; which still continues in expectation, rather than hopes, of some lucky incident that may still revive it. I am ever, with much respect and truth, my Lord, your Excellency's most faithful humble servant.

To the King.

Hague, April 23, N. S. 1676.

May it please your Majesty,

The day before the Prince of Orange left this place, I attended him at Hounslerdyke, upon his own appointment; and telling me several times that he had something to say to me before he went into the field, and desired it might be there, and at some leisure. When we were alone in the garden, he was pleased to tell me, I would easily believe the instances of the State, and of his friends, as well as the condition of his family, must needs

have put him often upon the thoughts of marrying; but he had been still in hopes, that the conclusion of a peace would have made way for it sooner than he now thought it was like to do: for, at present, he did not see when or how that could be brought about, unless your Majesty would resolve upon such conditions as you should think fit to have it made upon; and so propose them to the parties, who were otherwise too distant in their pretensions to agree easily themselves. That, upon this prospect, he began to think his marriage could not longer attend upon the motions of the peace, which might be very slow and uncertain; and therefore he would tell me freely, that he was resolved, in case he returned from this campaign, to neglect no time or paces that could be made in the pursuit of it. That for the person, I might be sure his inclinations would lead him into England, though he did not know what dispositions he should meet with there; and while the war lasted, it might, on this side, admit of much reflections, both from this State and their allies. That, however, he would not go into the field without writing to your Majesty and to the Duke, of what he had so much at heart; and begging the permission, that, immediately after the campaign ended, he might go over into England. That he thought this would be necessary, both that he might make his own pursuit himself, in an affair that so nearly concerned him; and that, by asking leave so early, no time might be lost upon that occasion when the campaign was over. That he had reason to desire this affair might, at present, be managed with all the secrecy that could be, and therefore was resolved to put the letters concerning it into my hands, and desired my wife might deliver them, both to your Majesty, and his Royal Highness; and that he would take care to send them to me before he went.

This was the sum of his Highness's discourse to me, when I took leave of him: and his letters, both for your Majesty and the Duke, being some days after come to my hands, I thought it my duty to send them, according to the directions I received from the Prince, and shall leave your Majesty to know the rest from his own hand; though, I think, I have not mistaken any thing of what he said to me upon this occasion. I shall not farther increase your Majesty's present trouble, than by the humble professions of that perfect devotion wherewith I am, and shall be ever, Sir, your Majesty's, &c.

To the Duke of York.

Hague, April 23, N. S. 1676.

May it please your Highness,

When I took leave of the Prince of Orange, at his going to the army, he was pleased to tell me the resolutions he had taken of writing to your Highness, upon an occasion he had so much at heart; and that he would do it before he went into the field. He said, he was resolved to apply himself directly to your Highness, in all that concerned it, and to beg your intercession with his Majesty, that he might have leave to go over into England immediately after the campaign ended. That he would likewise write to his Majesty at the same time, to beg his permission. And because he had reason to desire, that whatever paces he made at present, in this point, might be secret, he was resolved to put his letters into my hands; and desired that my wife, upon her going over, might herself deliver them both to his Majesty and your Highness. I thought it my duty to observe these directions; and having, by the same hand, given his Majesty an account of the manner and circumstance with which the Prince was pleased to enter

into these discourses, I shall not presume to trouble your Highness with the bare repetition of them, nor with any thing more at present, than the humble professions of the devotion and truth wherewith I am always, Sir, your Highness's, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, May 5, N. S. 1676.

Since my last of this day se'nnight, I am to acknowledge the favour of two from you; the first of the 14th past, inclosing the articles concluded by Sir John Norborough, with those of Tripoli, very much to his Majesty's honour, and the advantage of his subjects. The second, containing a large and particular deduction of the several considerations had by his Majesty, after his return, upon the States answer to my memorial, as well as upon Monsieur Van Beuninghen's memorial, concerning the late expedient proposed by his Majesty, and the diversity observed between them. I hope I have fully comprehended his Majesty's mind in this matter, as well from this last, as from the former accounts you have pleased to give me of it; and having had the good fortune to make some paces perfectly agreeable to it, upon incidents wherein I could not be previously instructed, I may well assure you of my keeping close to it in those where I am. This I conceive to be the chief intention of the lights you have last given me; and not that his Majesty intended I should make any representations upon them to the States; but only be prepared to reason those matters with them, in case any thing arises from them here, upon the paper you intended to put into Monsieur Van Beuninghen's hands, whereof you please to promise me a copy by the next; and to say, what you writ last was for my own information; and that

Monsieur Van Beuninghen had excused himself for giving that account to his Masters by that ordinary. I have not therefore entered into any discourses of this matter; nor shall, without occasion given me by them here; or, at least, the knowledge of their having received your paper intended Monsieur Van Beuninghen: but will only tell you my doubts, from what I observe in your last letter; that, as he was sometimes engaged further for his Masters than he had power to make good to his Majesty, so he may have engaged further for his Majesty to them (upon private or common discourses, passed from his Majesty to him, upon occasion of the Lorrain passports), than was ever intended, or could indeed be so, in a case not at all then foreseen. For in all our conferences upon that subject, they were ever full of the assurances given by his Majesty to Monsieur Van Beuninghen, and from his own mouth, that there should be no difficulty in the passports for Lorrain. But their induction I always thought fitter for Leyden than the Hague: that it was all one to have no passports granted, as not to have them granted in due form: whereas, what was the due form happened to be a thing wholly in dispute. But the bottom of all this, I suppose, is, that the parties are not yet weary enough of the war, to use any compliances towards the forming of a congress; whose motions must depend upon that of the campaign, while it lasts. So that, for aught I see, this knot is of those that must be cut through, and cannot be untied.

I took care to satisfy the Emperor's Ministers here about Mr. Skelton's conduct, both from what you and he writ me upon that subject. And this Minister took as much care to have me believe there was nothing of his own in what had passed; but that he had made the complaint here, for-

mally, to the States, as well as the other confederate Ministers, by the express commands of the Emperor himself. I think we are both satisfied in the matter; since I cannot blame any Minister's conduct, which is by his Master's order: and, I suppose, there is nothing likely to arise further upon this occasion.

I sent yesterday the States passes to the domestics of the French Ambassadors at Nimeguen, for their return to Charleville, upon a letter I received from the Ambassadors themselves to that purpose; which I take for no very good sign as to the congress; though they assured me it was only *une affaire domestique*, and they regarded nothing more than their own conveniences during their stay where they were, or in order to their journey by land to Nimeguen. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, May 11, N. S. 1676.

LAST night, about ten o'clock, arrived here the express you were pleased to send away with the Lorrain passport, inclosed in yours of the 27th past: which I received with great sense of so happy success in an affair by which his Majesty will receive no less honour than satisfaction; and whereof I have now, for some time, so much despaired. I thought to have detained the express till I had spoken to the Pensioner upon it; but the master of the vessel that brought him presses so much his dispatch, and the Pensioner having excused receiving me this morning at his own house, upon the assurance of seeing me at mine, I doubted his hour, after the assembly rises, might be too late for the other's impatience; and therefore resolved to let them make what haste they pleased away, with this acknowledgment of having received their dispatch,

and with the inclosure of the memorial I have drawn up, and resolve this morning to put in upon it. The joy, as well as surprise, will be here as great as can agree with the anxieties they are in at present, upon the certain news arrived yesterday from their army of the Prince's beginning to march, on the 7th evening, with resolution to attempt the raising of the siege of Bouchain; either by attacking the French camp at Kievrain, or that before Bouchain; which may very well produce some decisive action. I now see no farther difficulty in the forming of the congress, nor delay, besides the distance of ways; unless some may be occasioned by the passports of the allies running in the first proposed form, with liberty of couriers, which, though France hath, in a manner, consented to, yet their passports in my hands being wholly without the mention of it, I know not yet whether the Ministers of the allies will raise any difficulty upon exchanging their larger passports for those of France, that are, in that particular, more restrained. But I hope to overcome this difficulty by the *penchant* of this State to see the congress formed; and by proposing, in case they make the difficulty, that the exchange however may be made, though with reserve of that clause not being of force unless France shall consent to the same liberty for the confederates.

Whatever may further occur between this and to-morrow night, shall go in course by the ordinary, so as I shall not lengthen this by any thing that was to make up that dispatch, but only assure you of my being your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, May 12, N. S. 1676.

I AM to acknowledge the favour of two from you by the ordinary of the 25th and 28th past. The first brought my several inclosed copies, and with them a letter of his Majesty's to the Emperor, which I have put into his Minister's hand, and went away by the ordinary of this morning.

Monsieur Van Beuninghen kept his word with you, and writ not over hither the sum of your conference with him, till the post after that which brought it me from your hands. Nor did the Pensioner enter very far with me upon it; only excusing the signification of the word *juger*, which they meant only for the expression of his Majesty's opinion; and professing to be sorry for any offence his Majesty had taken at it. He said he was unwilling any way should be given to complaints on that side; and that I was witness, how little he had troubled me with any, and how he had stopped some from the Ministers of the allies here: that otherwise they might have reason to make some reflections upon our conduct of late in England; besides what they have been forced to take notice of by Monsieur Van Beuninghen, of his Majesty's giving leave to raise a new regiment in Scotland, for the French service, contrary to the express article of the last treaty, whatever might be said for recruits of the old. But the negotiations of several persons going abroad with characters from his Majesty, troubled him yet more, though the States had not thought fit to complain of them. I told him, I thought they did very wisely, considering how little ground some of those reports were found to have. Upon which he replied, that himself had read a letter from the Princess of Courland, wherein she says, that de Cross,

(who, it seems, had been formerly a servant to the Prince her husband) had writ him a letter, upon his coming to Copenhagen, wherein he told him, that he came thither with a commission, and instructions from his Majesty, to negotiate a separate peace between that Crown and Sweden. I excused myself from believing that either his Majesty would enter into any separate mediation, or, if he did, that he would chuse a person for it who would tell his commission where it was not necessary. And so his discourse ended.

On Saturday last Monsieur Blaspyle came to me, and told me he had certain advice of six ships equipping at Rochel, with four men of war to convoy them, being laden with corn and other necessaries, for the relief of the Swedish places either in Bremen or Pomerania; and that their intention was to go first into England, and there get passes from his Majesty. That, though he was confident his Majesty would do nothing contrary to the office of a true and impartial mediator, yet he desired me that I would give his Ministers notice of this pretension of these French ships, which they seemed to believe themselves secure of succeeding in; and which would be directly against the interests of the Elector his Master.

Since the dispatch of your express yesterday, with the answer of what he brought me from you of the 27th, inclosing the Lorrain passports, the States have had a conference with the Ministers of the allies; and, as I conjectured at first, some difficulty was made about the exchange of passports; upon the difference in them, in relation to the liberty of couriers. But the Pensioner sends me word this afternoon, that he doubts not they shall end that matter in a day or two; by agreeing upon some act or declaration, which shall leave France to the choice of either giving it, or wanting it; and so

leave it one way or other, equal to both sides. That he doubted not, they should hereby be ready to make the exchange of all passports, some day this week: and that the States had written a letter of thanks to his Majesty upon this occasion, which should be in my hands to go with this ordinary.

I find you reckon upon my having been possessed of all the passports; but, though I have been so long of those from France and Sweden, and of those from this State for both those Crowns, yet I never was of any from the rest of the confederates; though the respective Ministers have taken occasion to let me know, they had them in their hands, and were ready to deliver them, when those of all the confederates were come.

The next pace, I think, will be to agree upon the declaration of the neutral country, which is left by the confederates to his Majesty, provided it be between the two rivers. For my part, I see no certain bound can be given it, unless by those rivers and the Fossa Mariana. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, May 19, N. S. 1676.

By the last post I had nothing worth your trouble, farther than the notice of what I received from the Pensioner, as the pacquet was closing; that he hoped the exchange of the passports might be made the next day, or on Monday at farthest. I heard no more from him till Sunday night; but finding a conference had been appointed for eight o'clock on Monday morning, upon that subject, between the States and their allies, I thought fit to speak with the Pensioner late on Sunday night, and endeavour to know of him, whether there were any new occasion of this delay in a matter that I thought deserved a better and speedier reception. He told

me, the true reason was, that the Emperor's Minister had not yet the passports in his hands, but that they were at Cologn, from whence he was certain to receive them that night; and that, after the next conference, the deputies of the States would certainly attend me with the necessary passports, and make the exchange.

I remember very well, that some months since, the Emperor's Minister affirmed to be then possessed of all his passports; which I took notice of to the Pensioner, the delay being short, and then so near an end. But I have since reason to believe, the dispatch he expected was from Dusseldorp rather than Cologn, and concerted by him with the Duke of Nieuburg, in order to the producing such a resolution as I received yesterday from the States. The Pensioner had before observed to me some difference between the passports of France and those of the confederates, and the necessity of their insisting upon their being equal, which I undertake for. One was, that the word *repasser* was omitted in the French. Another was, that the clause for liberty of couriers was so likewise; whereas both were inserted in those of the confederates. And the third was, that there was but one French passport for any of the confederates, except only for Spain: whereas those of the confederates were, three for the French and Swedish Ministers; and so many would be necessary for each of the confederates; since they might think fit to send so many Ministers, and either from several places, or at several times, so as not to be capable of using one passport. In all these matters we found nothing of consequence to hinder the exchange of passports, and dispatch of them to the respective Ministers. Since, on the one side, I made no difficulty of engaging his Majesty's endeavours to procure the supplement of these defects on the French side: and, on the other part, the Pen-

sioner said, they would declare, that in case that was refused, their passports should reach no farther than those of France; which I did not contest.

Yesterday, being Monday, afternoon, two of the States Deputies came to me, and told me, they came from their Masters, in the first place, to repeat their thanks, and those of their allies, to his Majesty, for the late offices performed in this matter of the Lorrain passports. In the next, to make the exchange of them, having brought with them those of their confederates; and to put into my hands, at the same time, the resolution taken by the States and their allies, declaring the conditions upon which the exchange was to be made. They excused the resolution's not being yet translated into French by reason of the haste they made to bring it to me after it was agreed on; but did undertake to read it to me in French, out of the Dutch original. The first part contained those three particulars mentioned, and in the same manner the Pensioner understood they should pass: but after that came a clause, that whereas the Duke of Nieuburg was lately entered into the confederacy; that his Majesty was desired likewise to procure passports for his Ministers, and an assurance from the King of France, of granting passports to whatsoever Prince or State should hereafter enter into their alliance: without both which the present passports should be of no force or effect. And with these conditions they offered to make the exchange of passports.

I was, I confess, very much surprised to meet with a clause so little expected, and, as I thought, so very impertinent; and thereupon told them, without farther deliberation, my own thoughts upon it. That for the small difference in the form of passports, I thought there would be no difficulty, and questioned not his Majesty's instances and success upon them. That for the last, I esteemed it a very unfit return

to so much pains as his Majesty had taken in the pursuit of this affair, and the diligence he had used, in the dispatch of the Lorrain passports by express, immediately after he had, with so much difficulty, obtained them. That they had delayed the exchange of them now for eight days, and at length offered it with conditions that I esteemed wholly elusory, and upon which, for my own part, I could not think fit to make the exchange; not knowing what other advantage would be gained by it, than to keep the passports of the confederates as long in my cabinet as I had already done those of France and Sweden: that upon the first offer of his Majesty's mediation, it was long before all the confederates had accepted it; and long before they afterwards agreed to a place of treaty, proposed by his Majesty, though in their own territories. That in December last they signified to his Majesty the names of all their confederates, for whom they desired passports, and upon the dispatch whereof they then assured the delivery of theirs, and those of the confederates, without farther condition. That an incident having fallen out upon the style of the Duke of Lorrain, his Majesty had, for several months, laboured for the removal of it, and, at length, obtained it, with great difficulty. That when he now expected the immediate change of the passports, and, consequently, the sudden forming of the congress, wherein his honour was so far engaged, they clogged it with two new conditions; of which I thought the first out of form, and out of time; and the other wholly out of reason and practice. That for the Duke of Nieuburg, I knew he was a Prince for whom his Majesty had not only a particular esteem, but kindness too; and, if either before or after the exchange of passports, they should have signified that new alliance to his Majesty, and their desires of passports for him, I believed his Majesty would employ the same en-

deavours for his Ministers, as for those of the other allies. But, hitherto, his Majesty had received no notice of his entering into the confederacy, unless they intended he should have it from gazettes: nor had the Duke of Nieuburg either received, since the offers of his Majesty's mediation, or, that I know of, signified his acceptation of it, by himself, or the States, as all other their allies had done: and consequently, it was out of form, to desire his Majesty's offices in this matter, before those circumstances were passed. And it was very much out of time, to desire them just upon the exchange of the passports, and with condition of their being void without the success of them; since the exchange was intended for the sudden meeting of the Plenipotentiaries at the place of congress. And this condition must, of necessity, delay it, till both his Majesty's resolution were known in mediating a new proposal, and that of France in granting it; in which I was not yet informed of either of their intentions; nor could be, till a return from both Courts. That for the other part of the condition, which was an assurance from France of granting passports to all Princes or States, that should hereafter enter into their confederacy; though they made it seem plausible, by offering the reciprocal to France and Sweden, from the confederates; yet I thought it wholly impertinent and impracticable. And though I could not pretend to know whether either his Majesty would think fit to desire it, or the most Christian King to agree to it; yet I was sure I would not be of the opinion for either of them to be done; or for any passports to be solicited by one, or given by the other, but for Princes and States that were named at the desiring of them. That the States might desire passports for the Kings of Macassar and Ceylon, who were already their allies, or for the Duke of Muscovy, who, I hear, was invited into the con-

federacy of the present war. That I knew not, whether his Majesty would trouble himself with a mediation in their behalfs. That, to go nearer home, some Prince in the alliance of France might change his party, and enter into theirs; and I did not know, whether, in such a case, the most Christian King would think fit to admit such an ally into the treaty, or whether his Majesty would solicit it; nor did I conceive either could be resolved, without the considering of circumstances, as they should appear when the case came in question. That, in the mean time, to make the validity of the present passports depend upon a future condition, which could not be secured before-hand, were to make the congress wholly desperate; for no Ministers, either from France or Sweden, could think fit to come to Nimeguen, when, in case at any time during their residence there, upon the States desiring passports for a new ally, which France (upon circumstances that might attend it) should have reason to refuse, the present passports were to become immediately void; and not only thereupon the negotiations, if begun, or never so much advanced, must immediately cease; but the French and Swedish Ministers must remain in their enemies country, without any safety to their very persons; since that could be grounded only upon their passports, which would remain in danger of becoming invalid upon any such accident. That, for my own part, I took this to be a strain of some of their allies, which were enemies of peace, and so employed their wits to find out pretences of delaying or breaking the congress. That, however, since they brought it me as a resolution of the States, I desired it in French (as all used to be that passed between his Majesty and this State), though the use I intended to make of it was not so much to send it to his Majesty, as to draw up, immediately, an answer to it of my own, containing the present re-

marks I had made to them upon it, and what others should occur to me upon second thoughts, which I would not only send to the States, but, at the same time, print and publish it; that all their subjects might see upon what points they and their confederates turned the affairs of the peace; in which I knew very well how the people of these provinces were concerned, whether the government, or their allies, were so or no.

Upon these representations the Deputies of the States were so far moved, that, instead of replying, or maintaining the resolution they had brought, they told me, what I had said was of so much weight, that they thought themselves obliged to represent it to the States, before they delivered me the resolution. That they desired me therefore to excuse them for the delivery of it, till next day; and, in the mean time, were very glad to understand my opinion upon it, which they would report to their Masters that very evening, and doubted not of having another conference upon it this morning with their allies.

At their going away, after all this had passed, one of them told me privately, *Que j'avois la plus grande raison du monde:* that their compliance with some of their allies had engaged them in this matter, upon a letter from the Duke of Nieuburg, that came yesterday, desiring no exchange might be made of the passports without securing his according to his treaty.

That which I understood to be at the bottom of this whole matter is the interest of the Emperor, not only to secure the passports for the Duke of Nieuburg, who is at present entered into the alliance, but likewise for the Duke of Bavaria, who, they believe, will also be suddenly engaged, and, chiefly, by the offices of the Duke of Nieuburg to that purpose; who, being of the same family, has

great credit and influence in the Court of Bavaria. And they believe neither of them will be engaged without the same condition, of being equally considered in all treaties, and comprehended in any peace, with the rest of the confederates already named.

I know not what I shall receive from the States this evening, and before the closure of this pacquet: but, in the mean time, I thought it necessary to give his Majesty this account of what has hitherto passed; and am of opinion, the States will not be able to bear the noise of this matter, if they persist in it; but that, in such a case, they will be forced to consider the humour of their people, as well as the interest of their allies.

Thus far I had written by four o'clock this afternoon; since which time the Deputies of the States have again been with me, and told me, that having represented to the States the reason I gave them yesterday against the resolution they had then brought me, they had since had a conference with their allies upon them; and that they all agreed, that to express the general and sincere intentions they all had towards a peace, and withal, the great regard they had for the opinion of an Ambassador of his Majesty's, in what he thought concerned both the honour and desires of his Majesty in the mediation of the peace; they would remove those difficulties I had observed like to arise upon yesterday's resolution; and to that end had altered the resolution itself, and brought me in a form, which they doubted not would agree with his Majesty's intentions; and had given it the same date, to the end there might be no appearance of the former resolution: and that in pursuit of it they were ready to exchange the passports without any such conditions as were yesterday mentioned.

I read the resolution (which I send you inclosed)

and found nothing else to reflect on, but the last clause; and asked them, whether they understood it to refer only to the precedent period, concerning the equality pretended in the passports; or, likewise, to that former clause about the Duke of Nieuburg. They both affirmed, that it was meant only to refer to that immediately preceding, and not to what concerned the Duke of Nieuburg. Upon this we proceeded to the exchange of passports; in which we found several points a little defective; as that four of the German Princes had not yet sent their passports; nor could they assure me when they should have them. But the chief was, that those of the Emperor were not yet here; but they affirmed, that they were every day expected; and that they had been here some months since, but, upon those of France being short of the form agreed on, especially in the clause about couriers, the Emperor's Minister had sent for new ones in the same form; and was assured they were at Cologn, where he had likewise sent the old ones, so as to be now possessed of none.

In the next place, there were no passports from Spain, no more than from the Emperor, for the Bishop of Strasburg; but these they assured me were consented to by both, and undertook to put them into my hands. In the next place, because France had sent but one passport for each of the confederates besides Spain, they had each of them sent but one for France; and the same happened likewise in those of Sweden. But the exchange of our passports having begun by those of France and Spain and this State, and some of these difficulties not appearing till that was performed, which seemed the most material, we concluded to go on in the exchange, as far as we were provided; and thereupon proceeded as far as you will see marked in the inclosed list. Those from France and Sweden

to the Emperor, and the four German Princes who have not yet sent their passports, I have retained still in my hands till theirs arrive. I shall expect those of the Emperor till Friday; by which time the Deputies assure me they will be here. If they come not by that time, I shall be sure, however, to dispatch away all those I am already possessed of to the French Ambassadors, by the conveyance you prescribe me of an express to Maestricht; and deliver those for Sweden to Monsieur Sylvercroone, the commissary of that Crown; excepting one you desire for Monsieur Spar, which I shall send in blank to your hands, being already possessed of three from the States; and resolving to endeavour to get as many by that time from Spain and Denmark, if those Ministers have so many in their hands.

For the Bishop of Strasburg I formerly sent you one from this State; and shall follow it with the rest as soon as they arrive. In the mean time, you will please to procure three passports for the Emperor, for I have yet but one; and that may, for aught I know, be the reason of the Emperor's Minister's disowning to have any passports; being a man something punctilious, and having desired me, a week ago, to procure them, not without complaint of such a neglect from France, but without any thing that looked like his wanting those of his Master.

I hope his Majesty will approve the progress I have made in this matter, though it be not yet complete; which has fallen out, chiefly, by the number of passports failing on the French and Swedish part. I cannot but be glad to find it upon the terms it now is, considering where it was yesterday; and did not expect so absolute a change of the resolution, in so little time; having last night found Monsieur Serinchamps very peremptory in defending that resolution of the States. But this morning the

Hanover Resident told my secretary, that there had been very warm debates upon it, between the States and some of their allies, who persisted so far, that the Pensioner asked them: *Et que pretendez-vous donc, Messieurs, de nous faire dechirer par la canaille?* But these passages of their private conferences you will please may not be public, because that may hinder me another time from knowing them, which is sometimes necessary to acquaint me with the springs from which the public motions of such affairs arise.

I have reason to think you tired out with this length; and am very sensible of being so myself; which leaves me only to acknowledge yours of the 5th, not finding any thing requires farther return than what I have already said about the passports you mention from Monsieur Spar, and the Bishop of Strasburg. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, May 22, N. S. 1676.

By last post I gave you an account of the exchange of passports being made late that night: I delayed the sending them away to Maestricht till this morning, both in expectation of the Emperor's passes by last ordinary from Germany, and likewise in hopes of obtaining two passes more from each of the confederate Ministers by the offices promised me by the States Deputies to that purpose. Yesterday one of them sent me word, they had endeavoured it in vain, and they would give no more than one, though they had more in their hands, till they receive as many from France as was desired of them.

This morning the Emperor's Minister sent me word, his passports were not come by the last night's ordinary; and that the old ones, which he expect-

ed from Cologn, had been in Monsieur Fisher's hand, who was since gone up into Germany; so that he sooner expected the new ones from Vienna. Hereupon I made my dispatch ready to be sent away to Maestricht by noon: when, just upon the parting of it, I received a letter from Monsieur Pompone, desiring me, that instead of the passport for the Duke de Vitry, there might be one for the Mareschal d'Estrades, whom the most Christian King had appointed his Plenipotentiary in place of that Duke, upon the continuance of his indisposition. I was forced hereupon to open my pacquet again, and sent the Duke of Vitry's passport to the Greffier, with this desire; but he returned me answer, that the States were up, and that it could not possibly be done till their sitting again to-morrow morning; so that it will be to-morrow noon before my pacquet with the passports can go away.

If you think it necessary for the French Ambassadors to have three several passports from each of the confederates, you will please to desire the same number for each of them from France, which the Swedish Commissary here has promised to do from that Crown; but especially for the Emperor, who has, it seems, already named three Ambassadors for the congress. You will please likewise to press the declaration of the neutral country, which the confederates, on their part, have left wholly to his Majesty to extend as he pleases, provided it be between the two rivers. If his Majesty pleases to pitch upon any certain line to the east from one river to another, the thing is done: but, for my part, I cannot see how any other can do it, but the Fossa Mariana, which is an open canal, and so will leave no dispute: besides, it takes in Cleve, where, for aught I hear, the Princes who have accepted

the Pope's mediation, design the residence of that Minister, or in some village near it.

I send you inclosed a passport of the States for Monsieur Spar, which your last desired; though he writes word to Monsieur Sylvercroone, that he goes not to the congress, but into Sweden. I send you likewise a passport from the Duke of Lorrain for the Bishop of Strasburg's Minister; which is all yet come to my hands. That of the States you have long since; and Monsieur de Lyra has promised me one from Spain with the first; as the Emperor's Resident has likewise done for his Master, with the other passports. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, May 26, N. S. 1676.

By my last I gave you an account of one day's delay fallen out in dispatch of the passports, by the change desired by Monsieur Pompone in that for the Duke of Vitry. The next day, being Saturday, I procured the passport for the Mareschal d'Estrades, and dispatched away the trumpet to Maestricht about noon. He seemed to doubt he could not be there under four days, so as I cannot expect to hear of him again till the end of this week.

I assured the French Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor's passes, and the other four German Princes (that were wanting), in some few days; but endeavoured to possess them, how little those passes would be necessary for their journey to Nimeguen, which I hoped they would not delay upon that occasion. I know not how they will understand or govern themselves, but shall inform you as soon as I receive advice by the return of the trumpet.

I have this day received yours of the 12th, and

shall make the best use of what you there advise me, concerning the mistaken grounds of so many surmises here about his Majesty's partiality in the present war, which I have met with oftener of late than I thought fit to trouble you with, and ought to ask your pardon for doing it at all, unless it be upon formal complaints from the States; though, perhaps, it may not be unfit for you to know something of their thoughts and common discourse in this kind, as well as of their formal paces.

I am fully instructed, by your last, in the state of his Majesty's present resolutions concerning the first visits which are to attend upon his further pleasure, after the mind of the Austrian Ministers is known. As to that of the neutral country, I very well remember the state it was left in, which you are pleased to mind me of; but as France refused the extent his Majesty would have given it, to take in Meurs, so the confederates absolutely (and, indeed, from their first accepting of the town of Nimeguen) excluded that offer of two leagues round it, and confined the neutrality to the two rivers. Nor is the jealousy of the French entering into the heart of the country, greater in the Prince and those of the present government here, than it is in the Spanish and Imperial councils; so as that is a limit that cannot take place; nor, indeed, if it could, do I see how any line described, only by distance of leagues, or any other measures, can ever free that matter from perpetual disputes upon incursions which parties may make, and trust to wrangling about what distance the place was at where the hostility was committed. Therefore, I desire you will put his Majesty in mind of some resolution in this matter (upon which I refer you to what I said in my last), since, till it be agreed and declared, there can be no safety for the Ministers that will be repairing to the congress.

I shall speak to the Pensioner, of Monsieur Oudart's business, the very next time I see him, and give you an account of it. Which is all I remember at present necessary to lengthen this trouble, from, Sir, your, &c.

To the Ambassadors of France, Messieurs Colbert and d'Avaux.

Hague, May 22, N. S. 1676.

Messieurs,

After so many difficulties in the affair of the passports, at last, about two days ago, they have been exchanged. I have ever since been in expectation of the Emperor's passports, which his Minister gave me reason to believe, would be brought by the courier which arrived here from Germany last night. Those of the Elector Palatine, of Mentz, of Triers, and of Munster, are also behind; but are promised to be delivered in a very few days. The other confederates will give me no more than one passport each, although I have good reason to believe, that their Ministers here have three in their hands: their dealing thus is founded upon this; that each of them hath been furnished with one passport only from France. Notwithstanding these little defaults, and the restrictions made by the inclosed resolution of the States General, I thought it my duty no longer to put off dispatching those passports which I have already received for your Excellencies; being fully persuaded, that these incidents can in no ways

Aux Ambassadeurs de France, Colbert & d'Avaux.

La Haye, Mai 22, N. S. 1676.

Messieurs,

Après tant de difficultez sur l'affaire des passeports, l'échange s'est fait à la fin depuis deux jours. J'ay attendu depuis pour avoir ceux de l'Empereur, lesquels son Ministre icy m'a fait esperer par le courier d'Allemagne, arrivé hier au soir. Il y a aussi ceux de l'Electeur Palatin, de Mayence, de Treves, et de Munster, qui manquent encore, et qu'on promet en fort peu de jours. Les autres confederez ne m'ont voulu donner que chacun un passeport, encore que j'ay raison de croire que leurs Ministres icy ont trois en main; mais ils se fondent sur ce qu'il n'y a eu que pour chacun d'eux un passeport de France. Nonobstant ces petits defauts, et les restrictions portées dans la resolution de Messieurs les Etats enveloppée, j'ay crû de mon devoir de ne plus differer la depêche des passeports que j'ay en main, vers vos Excellences, ne croyant pas que ces circonstances vous peuvent empêcher de vous en servir pour le voyage de Nimegue; la route que V. Ex. doivent tenir se trouvant assez éloignée de terres de ces Princes-là qui n'ont encore

be any hindrance to you from making use of them for your journey to Nimeguen; the route that your Excellencies will take, being at a sufficient distance from any of the territories of those Princes who have not as yet sent their passports. The Imperial Minister assures me, that the delay on his side is only owing to a change made in the form of the passports, occasioned by the denial of France to permit the free passage of couriers: this has stopped the first passports upon the road, which had been dispatched by the Emperor; and the incident about the Duke of Lorrain, which since fell out, is the reason why no more haste has been made in dispatching new ones. I do not apprehend that there is any great mystery in this; but believe, that it is all rather owing to oversight, than to any ill intention. I shall, however, take care to press, as far as possible, the doing what is yet behind; and, in the mean time, I hope your Excellencies will endeavour to get two other passports dispatched for the Emperor and two for the States, for whom, as yet, I have received only one, no more than I have for any of the other allies, excepting Spain. The Ministers of Brandenburg demand also three, in granting which I do not see there can be any difficulty. I have sent this present dispatch to Monsieur d'Estrades, by a trumpeter, as I was ordered by his Majesty, and should be very glad to hear, as soon as may be, that your Ex-

envoyé leurs passeports. Le Ministre de l'Empereur m'assure que ce retardement n'est arrivé que par le changement survenu au formulaire des passeports sur le refus de la France de consentir à la liberté des couriers; ce qui a fait retenir en chemin les premiers passeports depêchez par l'Empereur, & que l'incident de Lorraine étant survenu depuis, on ne s'est pas pressé de depêcher les seconds. Je croy qu'il n'y a pas grand mistère, & qu'il y a eu plûtôt de nonchalance que de malice. Je ne manqueray pas de presser tant que je pourrois le reste de cette affaire; & en attendant j'espere que vos Exs. tacheront de faire depêcher deux autres passeports pour l'Empereur, & deux pour cet Etat, pour qui je n'ay reçu qu'un encore, comme pour tous les alliez hormis l'Espagne. Les Ministres de Brandebourg en demandent trois aussi, sur quoy je ne vois aucune difficulté. J'ay envoyé la depêche presente par un trompette à Monsieur d'Estrades, selon les ordres de sa Majesté, & serai bien aise de savoir au plûtôt que V. Exs. l'ayent bien reçu, & que j'auray bientôt l'honneur & la satisfaction de vous faire voir à Nimegue le respect & estime particuliere avec laquelle je suis, Messieurs, de V. Excellences le très humble & très obéïssant serviteur.

cellencies have received it, and to have the honour and pleasure of shewing you at Nimeguen, with how particular a respect and esteem I am, Messieurs, your Excellencies most humble and most obedient servant.

To Monsieur d'Estrades.

Hague, May 22,
Sir, N. S. 1676.

By order of the King my Master, I send to you the pacquet directed to my Lords the Ambassadors of his most Christian Majesty at Charleville, in which are contained the passports of the confederates necessary for their proceeding to the place of congress. I make no question but you will take all needful care to forward so great a work, and pay all due regard to his Majesty's desires, that no hindrance may be any way put to the advancing it as much as possible.

I desire you, Sir, to let me know by the trumpeter, when he returns, that it is come safe to your hands; and that you still have in your remembrance one who has been so long time, and shall always continue, with a very particular esteem, Sir, your Excellency's most humble and most obedient servant.

Au Monsieur d'Estrades.

La Haye, Mai 22,
Monsieur, S. N. 1676.

Par les ordres du Roy mon Maître, je vous envoye le pacquet destiné pour Messieurs les Ambassadeurs du Roy très Chrétien à Charleville, & contenant les passeports des confederez necessaires à leur voyage au lieu de congrès: je ne doute pas que vous en aurez le soin qui est deu à l'achèminement d'un si grand ouvrage, & au desir de sa Majesté, qu'il n'y a point de retardement à la faire avancer tout ce qui sera possible.

Je vous supplie, Monsieur, de me faire savoir par le retour du trompette, que vous les aurez bien reçus, & qu'il vous souvient encore d'une personne qui a été si longtems, & qui sera toujours, avec une estime très particuliere, Monsieur, de V. Exc. le très humble & très obéissant serviteur.

To Monsieur d'Estrades.

Hague, May 23,
Sir, N. S. 1676.

I had yesterday finished the inclosed dispatch, to send it you, pursuant to the orders of

Au Monsieur d'Estrades.

La Haye, Mai 23,
Monsieur, S. N. 1676.

J'avois hier achevé cette depêche enveloppée pour vous l'envoyer selon les ordres du Roy mon

the King my Master, with my request, that you would please to forward it as soon as possible to the Lords the Plenipotentiaries of his most Christian Majesty at Charleville. When the trumpeter was upon his departure, I received a letter from Monsieur Pompone, in which he advised me, that your Excellency was appointed one of them, in the room of the Duke of Vitry; and therefore desired me to dispatch forthwith a passport for you, and to stop that which was already in my hands from the States General for the said Duke. For, as for the Spanish passports, they have blanks left in them, and so there is no need that they should be changed on this occasion. This has caused one day's delay, there being no possibility of dispatching the passport yesterday in the afternoon, because the States never assemble but in mornings. In the mean time, I greatly please myself with receiving so agreeable a notice, which gives me hopes of enjoying an assistance and a conversation such as is yours, the latter of which will not be more agreeable to me, than the former will be advantageous in conducting an affair of such high importance, and that deserves to pass through hands as experienced and successful as yours are. On this account it is, that I ought rather to wish his most Christian Majesty joy of this choice, than yourself, since you will find, no doubt, a great deal of trouble in it, as well as reap a great deal of glory from it.

Maître, & vous prier de la faire tenir au plûtôt à Messieurs les Plenipotentiaires du Roy très-Chrêtien, à Charleville. Quand le trompette devoit partir, j'ay reçu une lettre de Monsieur de Pompone, par laquelle il me donna l'avis que vôtre Excellence en étoit un, au lieu du Duc de Vitry; & me pria de faire depêcher un passeport pour vous, en retenant celuy que j'avois en main pour ledit Duc de la part de Messieurs les Etats Généraux. Car pour les passeports d'Espagne, ils sont tous en blanc, & n'ont besoin d'aucun changement sur cette occasion. Celuïci a causé le retardement d'un jour, le passeport ne se pouvant depêcher hier l'apres dinée, puisque les Etats ne s'assemblent que les matins. Mais en même tems j'ay été consolé par une si agréable nouvelle, qui m'a donné l'esperance de joüir d'une telle assistance & conversation comme la vôtre, dont l'une ne me sera pas plus agréable que l'autre utile dans une affaire de si grande importance, & qui merite bien une main aussi habile & heureuse que la vôtre. C'est pourquoy je dois plûtôt féliciter de ce choix à sa Majesté très-Chrêtienne, qu' à vous, qui aurez pour vôtre partage beaucoup de peine sans doute, aussi bien que de gloire.

I send you a copy of the in-

Je vous envoye une copie de

closed letter to Messieurs Colbert and d'Avaux, as also the resolution of the States mentioned therein, that you may see in what condition this whole affair lies. I beg the favour of you, to give me notice by the trumpeter, at his return, that the pacquet is delivered safely into your hands. I am, Sir, your Excellency's most, &c.

la lettre enveloppée à Messieurs Colbert & d'Avaux, comme aussi de la resolution des Etats y mentionnée, à fin que vous voyez l'état de toute cette affaire. Je vous supplie de me faire savoir par le retour du trompette que vous aurez bien reçeu le pacquet. Je suis, Monsieur, D. V. E. &c.

To the Prince of Orange.

Hague, May 29, N. S. 1676.

May it please your Highness,

THE inclosure of this letter from his Majesty must bear me out in giving your Highness this present trouble. It came to me seconded by one from Mr. Secretary Coventry upon the same occasion, and was delivered to me by the lady in whose favour, I suppose, it was designed. I told her, I did not believe your Highness would do any thing in those kind of affairs till your return from the field; and she seemed to believe so too; but, however, desired I would send your Highness the letter; which I promised by the first: and that is all my part in this affair.

All that I can say in another, wherewith your Highness encharged me, is, that * the person chiefly concerned, endeavoured to have it excused absolutely till after the peace; and that such an answer might be given; upon which time was taken to consider: since which I have heard nothing, but imagine it is possible your Highness may by a nearer way.

Having exchanged the passports, and dispatched them to Maestricht a week since, I do not foresee any thing likely to hinder the French Ambassador's journey to Nimeguen, though it may be a

* The Duke of York.

little delayed by the Count d'Estrades's exception to his pass from the States, which styles him only Compte; to which he desires may be added, Mareschal de France. I suppose there will be no difficulty made upon it, nor, I hope, in the Emperor's passports, though they are not yet come; but, I believe, it may have been only negligence, without any other mystery.

In my last letters from Madrid of the 7th current, our Ambassador there writes me word, that, after a consultation in that Court upon the proposal of his Majesty's expedient of giving all the passports himself, the Count de Pignoranda had come to him with a message, declaring that King's consent to it, so far as concerned all his dominions and territories subject to his obedience. The Ambassador writes farther, that this resolution was taken there, contrary to the advice of many passionate letters that were written thither upon that subject from Holland and Flanders. I thought this was a light fit to give your Highness, because you would not, perhaps, receive it any other ways: for Monsieur de Lyra professes to know nothing of it, and would make a difficulty of believing it; though I am sure it cannot fail after the manner it comes to me.

I have not yet fixed the time of my going to Nimeguen, expecting other motions that way, unless new orders press me from Court. I doubt not, but what passes in the field will signify more than what will pass there this summer as to the peace, which your Highness says (in the honour I received of one from you of the 18th) you will labour in. I am very sorry for the accidents you tell me have hindered you in so great a design, and very glad of the hopes you express of being able to advance it; since nothing can be of more glory to your Highness, and nothing can touch me more than

whatever is so; being as I am, and as I shall be ever, with so much devotion and truth, Sir, your Highness's most obedient and most humble servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, June 2, N. S. 1676.

On Saturday last I received a letter from the Mareschal d'Estrades by the trumpet I sent, with acknowledgment of my pacquet inclosing the passports for the French Plenipotentiaries, which, he said, he had dispatched away immediately to Charleville; excepting only his own passport from the States. This he sent me; but finding fault with their treating him Le Sieur Compte d'Estrades, without the style of Mareschal de France; and desiring me to procure another with that change. This I have done, and dispatched it away to him this afternoon; but could not, at the same time, send him the Emperor's passports, which are not yet arrived.

I do not think it can be this default, which makes so little advance as yet in the preparations for Nimeguen, that Sir Lionel Jenkins writes me word, their servants there own to know nothing yet of that matter; and have no orders to get any thing ready to convey or receive them. I rather suppose, it may be the business of the Compte d'Estrades's equipage, which he intends very great; having sent hither for passports for his servants to buy two-and-forty coach horses; and by a list the trumpeter shewed me of their intended equipage, his share is four-and-twenty *lacquais*, and all the rest in proportion. The other two will have the same number between them. The Spaniards, you know, that cannot vie with the French in things of more importance, will not fail of doing it to the height in this. And I remember, last year, when the Mar-

quis de Manceras was designed for the congress, a list was sent hither of the equipage he intended, of which there were to be twenty pages. I suppose the Marquis de los Balbaces may not go lower; having, they say, a revenue of two hundred thousand crowns yearly, besides the allowance for his embassy. If all be like to go at this rate in such a town as Nimeguen, I do not see how we shall avoid one of the three judgments, of war, or famine, or sickness; besides, that it is not his Majesty's intent, for aught I find, that his Ambassadors shall enter the lists upon any such emulations. I cannot tell if these circumstances may make it seem worth his Majesty's considering, whether it would be fit to write to the several Crowns concerned in this treaty, that, to prevent the disorder and inconveniencies of too great trains in a small town, upon the assembly of so many Ministers, his Majesty had commanded his not to exceed each of them the number of four pages and eight *lacquais*, and would be glad the rest would follow that example. As likewise for all crimes against the peace of the place, each Ambassador should be allowed to put his servants so guilty into the hands of the usual Justice of the town of Nimeguen. And that they should be instructed to live easily in all points of mere ceremony during the congress, like persons who were sent thither with dispositions to advance the peace, and not to sharpen the quarrels of their Masters by those of the Ministers, which may otherwise very well fall out. I thought it possible some such circumstances could not be amiss to add to circular letters, which his Majesty might send for hastening away of the several Ambassadors, upon the end so happily attained in all preliminary difficulties: for, I doubt, there may be need of such instances towards the dispatch of the Austrian, Danish, and Brandenburgh Ministers, by the dispositions I ob-

serve from the motions of those Courts thus far of the way.

This day one of the States Deputies brought me the inclosed paper grounded upon a memorial given them by the Brandenburgh Ministers, in a style so *brusque*, as I hear, as to desire of the States, that, till the change pretended were made in his Master's passports, they would give order to forbid the French Plenipotentiaries entrance into the town of Nimeguen. I hear, he expects not only to send Ambassadors, but to have them treated, in all points, like those of crowned heads: in which I neither know his Majesty's style, nor that of France; but suppose it will be necessary for us to be distinctly informed of the first.

I was extreme glad to find, by your last of the 16th, his Majesty's final resolution upon that matter of the first visit; which I ever foresaw would engage us, and perhaps the congress, in some difficulties. You will please more particularly to instruct, whether we are to give the first visits likewise to those that come after us from the Duke of Lorrain or the Electors, with characters of Ambassadors; for, I hear, those from the Duke and the Elector of Brandenburgh will certainly do so.

Monsieur de Lyra will not acknowledge to know any thing of what Sir William Godolphin writes me, of that Crown's having consented to his Majesty's expedient: but I have told it the Pensioner, who says, he will another time desire him to consult with his instructions, or, at least, with his letters, to know whether he is like to be avowed or not. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, June 5, N. S. 1676.

SINCE my last of the 2d, I am to acknowledge the honour of one from you, of the 19th past, with his Majesty's commands concerning an authentic explanation to be drawn from the States, of those words in their resolution of the 18th past, *Que l'échange se feroit sur ce pied;* as likewise concerning the offices his Majesty desires should be made from hence in the case of Prince William of Furstemburgh.

For the first, I do not expect any difficulty will be made in it, having this day spoken with one of the Deputies present at the exchange of the passports, who remembers and acknowledges what they then said to me upon the interpretation of those words: so that by next post I hope to send you the declaration you desire to that effect.

For the second; I shall speak with the Pensioner about it, the first time I can see him; and since, I suppose, his Majesty desires it only that the thing should be done upon the offices to be performed by Mr. Skelton at Vienna, I shall use my utmost endeavours towards it, by engaging, as far as I can, either the offices of the States, or some of the chief persons among the Commissioners of secret affairs, (if the Pensioner continue to decline it,) so as it may be understood at Vienna either by the States Ministers there, or by the Emperor's here, that this State would be glad his Majesty may have satisfaction in this point. I shall likewise endeavour to engage the Imperial Ministers here in this pursuit, and the Marquis of Grana, whose credit goes a great way, they say, in that Court. And all this I shall do as from myself, without interesting his Majesty's name any further in this matter.

I have at length, after many and long discourses about the matter of revisions, received the inclosed answer, which, I see, contains what the Pensioner always told me, that what they are engaged to by the letter of their treaty, though against their intention and his Majesty's, as they were then assured from their Ambassador, they will yet perform; but that they cannot, upon that pretence, be pressed to things wholly against the constitution of their government, and wholly unprovided for by the very letter of the treaty. I am ever, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, June 9, N. S. 1676.

I AM to acknowledge the favour of one from you of the 26th past, which had but too just an excuse for the haste of it, upon so unhappy an accident as you had been that day surprised with by the fire in Southwark. I was very glad to find you expected suddenly some determination in the business of the neutral country, which seems to be the point now most pressing in relation to the congress.

The Emperor's Resident tells me, there is an express upon the way, with the passports from that Court, and pretends to expect them with the end of this week. But I foresee he will make difficulty of delivering any more than he receives; and you are not yet pleased to give me hopes of having two more sent for the Emperor from France, which I put you in mind of some time since. I do not hear that the French Ambassadors are like to make any difficulty of coming to Nimeguen for want of those passports; nor for the States having, in their resolution of the 18th past, tied up the exchange, in a manner, to the reciprocation. Nor do I think they will have need to make any difficulty,

or that there will be any danger, as to the validity of the passports, though such little circumstances should be either refused or delayed by France. I send you, however, inclosed, the States declaration in form, as you desired, of those words, *Sur ce pied-là;* relating no farther than to the clauses immediately preceding, about the equality pretended in the passports.

I have been casting about how I might best succeed in what his Majesty desireth to be effected in the business of Prince William. I spoke first to the Pensioner, who is obstinate to excuse himself from meddling in it, or consenting to any thing from the States in favour of it. But I put it so home, from his Majesty's having reason to expect this point of deference from the Emperor, after having received so much greater from France in the two preliminaries; that he said, for his part, he wished the Emperor would do it, so he had no hand in it. And upon my proposal, that Monsieur Mauregnault should both write to the States Resident at Vienna, and speak to the Emperor's here, to possess them both that the States would be content the thing were done, and wished that his Majesty might not be disobliged in it; the Pensioner consented to it, but desired that I would speak to Monsieur Mauregnault, and that I would do it in his (the Pensioner's) absence, who was going to the Prince. Immediately after he went, I spoke with Monsieur Mauregnault, who was content the thing should be done; but would not adventure to do it of himself: and said, this private way had been proposed before, by Monsieur Van Beuninghen; but was not thought fit to be either done by any of the Commissioners without order, nor to be proposed at the council of secret affairs. All I could do, was to engage him to speak with the Emperor's Minister last night, and to endeavour to possess him of it, as what, he

believed, was the opinion of the States, though they did not think fit to enter into it. From him I went immediately to the Emperor's Minister, because the post was to part for Vienna last night; and I knew not whether Mr. Skelton might not have orders already to advance his journey.

To all I said upon this subject, though as wholly from myself, and out of a desire that his Majesty should not have occasion to think himself less considered by the Emperor than by France, he answered, that he wished it himself; but that upon the last representations I had engaged him in, he was ordered to say no more upon that subject; because the Emperor had resolved to open that whole matter at the beginning of the congress, and in such a manner as, he was sure, would satisfy all the Princes there. Besides, he said the States had ever expressed so great a repugnance in this matter, that he believed his Master considered them in it, as well as himself. However, I did not leave him till he had promised to write last night, and represented all the reasons I had given him, and the assurances I made him of the States being rather desirous the thing should be done; which I knew he would be confirmed in by Monsieur Mauregnault before the post parted.

This is all I have yet done, but am resolved tomorrow to try one point more; which is, to engage Monsieur Mauregnault to propose it at the committee of secret affairs, which is now very thin, while the Pensioner is absent; and endeavour to engage them either to write themselves to their Resident at Vienna, or at least to order the Greffier to do it; so as he may satisfy the Emperor that it is a thing desired by the States, and will be thought prudent by them to make such a compliment to his Majesty at this time. If I can compass it, I hope it may go by the post on Thursday night, and you

shall have a farther account of it by next ordinary. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, June 12, N. S. 1676.

Since my last I engaged Monsieur Mauregnault to move the Commissioners of secret affairs to write to their Resident at Vienna concerning Prince William, and in the terms I proposed, according to what I told you in my last. He has been since with me, and told me he chose his time when there were but three more; but they excused themselves, upon their Resident being either parting, or already parted, from Vienna this way; having lately obtained leave to return hither, upon his particular affairs. Though this be given me in payment, yet I believe the truth is, they are timorous of acting any thing in the absence of both Prince and Pensioner, without being instructed in either of their minds. So that I have been able yet to go no farther than engaging Monsieur de Lyra's and Monsieur Campricht's offices at Vienna, upon Monsieur Mauregnault's telling them what he thought was the mind of the States. Upon the Pensioner's return, I will try once more whether he will be content to be understood by the other Deputies in this matter, whether he speak or no; which he ever excuses, upon a solemn vow he has made to the contrary.

I told you in a postscript of my last, that the Emperor's passports were just then arrived. The next day that Minister here put in the enclosed memorial, which the Deputies came to acquaint me with the same afternoon. I told them, they might understand it as they pleased, but, for my part, I looked upon it as a captious thing, and

should so declare my sense of it publicly, if upon the suggestions in it he made difficulty, or delay, to exchange the passports; since he knew very well the form of those from France, and that they were without the clause for couriers; and if exception had been taken at that, the Emperor's passports might have been drawn up accordingly, as the Spaniards have been of a second edition. That for the number, I had writ to have it supplied from France and Sweden, and expected it. But in the mean time, to take away all excuse, I was content to exchange one for one, till I should be possessed of more. Hereupon I gave the Deputies the copies of the French and Swedish passports, to be communicated to Monsieur Campricht, according to his desire.

Yesterday I sent to Monsieur Mauregnault, to know what was like to be done; but he returned me answer, that the Resident was satisfied with the form of the Swedish, but not of the French: and that he was resolved to put in another memorial, to excuse himself from making the exchange till all was reciprocal. I went to Monsieur Mauregnault, and made him sensible how all these exceptions of the Resident were expressly provided against, by their resolution of the 18th past, and that the States were to answer to the world for all captious or elusory paces that were made, in this matter of the peace, by their allies, as well as themselves; since it was in their power to support them in it, or to leave them. This afternoon Monsieur Mauregnault sent me word, the States had resolved their Deputies should go to the Resident, and absolutely demand that two of the Emperor's passports, one for France, and the other for Sweden, should be put into their hands, to be exchanged for the same number from those two Crowns; that they,

the Deputies, were to go this afternoon; and if they found him, they would give me a farther account of it, before the parting of this ordinary.

I hear of another difficulty made by the Danish Minister, about the want of an *&c.* after the words *Daniæ et Norwegiæ*, in the Swedish passport; which both the Pensioner and Monsieur Maureguault have recommended to me: but I refused to meddle in it, unless they gave it me in writing, which, they say, will be done; and then, I suppose, you must be troubled with it, as I always expected to be with any delays or difficulties that could be raised by several of the German confederates, who hoped to find their account in the war. But, I believe, though the States seem not inclinable to separate at all from them in the gross of the affair; yet they will not support them in what is only captious or dilatory: nor could they, I believe, answer it to the popular clamours it would raise here; which is an argument I am often fain to have recourse to, and not without reason or success.

By the extraordinary diligence of this last pacquet, I am already possessed of yours of the 30th past. To which I find other return due at present, besides the acknowledgment of what you there tell me of his Majesty's resolutions already taken, in order to the congress; and the expectation you give me of what will be farther considered as to the treatment of electoral or ducal Ambassadors. As much as I have heard, no such have been received in the Spanish Court; but in the French they have, from the Duke of Savoy; I think never from that of Lorrain; and cannot well tell whether from any Elector, or no.

I am very glad his Majesty falls in with my representations, about devolving the care of the peace, and punishment of criminal offences, upon

the magistrates of the town: not only for what you please to remark, for the newness of the thing, if it were left to the Mediators, as this State has designed; but because it were impossible for us to discharge such an office, without certain distaste to some of the parties; which, I think, is our part to avoid all that can be. However, for what may concern ourselves and our servants in that matter, I think it will be necessary for us to have instructions, allowing us not only to propose it to the rest, but to do it ourselves, in case occasion be given. For without orders, I doubt it will not be fit for us to subject ourselves, or any that belong to us, to any Justice besides his Majesty's.

For the compliment you enjoin to be made to the States, or the Pensioner, upon the change of his Majesty's resolution concerning the first visits, since the arrival of their Ambassadors at Nimeguen, I shall chuse rather to do it to the Pensioner, at his return, than pass any formalities upon it towards the States. What you intended towards the Dutch Ambassadors already at Nimeguen, is, I believe, performed. For among several queries in point of ceremony, which Sir Lionel Jenkins's great modesty sent me last week, upon the expected approach of the French Ambassadors, one was, whether to take notice of that matter to the Dutch? and, whether before or after he made the visit to the French? Upon his earnest desire I adventured to give him my opinion in all of them; and in this it was, to take notice of the change of his orders to the Dutch Ambassadors, even before the arrival of the French; and to tell them, that his orders being general, he would now do the same to any other Dutch Ambassador that should hereafter arrive. I have found by Sir Lionel Jenkins's last, that he was pleased to approve of what I had writ upon all the several points, and resolved to do ac-

cordingly. So that, I suppose, this is already performed, and in the manner I mentioned.

I shall send you a deduction of what concerns the merchant-adventurers by the next; and remain ever, Sir, your, &c.

Since the writing of this, and just upon the closure of the pacquet, two of the Emperor's passports are delivered me, in exchange with one from France, and another from Sweden.

To the Duke.

Hague, June 16, N. S. 1676.

May it please your Highness,

After so great an honour as this pacquet brought me, by one from your Highness of the 30th past, I thought it could not too soon be either acknowledged or obeyed. And, therefore, I presume to give your Highness most humble thanks for the honour I received, at the same time I dispatched away the inclosed to the Prince of Orange. I very well remember his Majesty's mind, which he was pleased himself to signify to me when I was last in England, upon discourse of the Prince's journey thither; but never had any occasion to make use of it, till I took leave of him, the day before he left this place. For, though his Majesty had last winter some jealousy of such an intention, yet I never heard the Prince say one word towards it, since my first coming over till then, unless it was when my Lord Chamberlain was here; and whatever he said then in my hearing, looked rather like civility, or return of compliment, than any serious thought. When he entered those discourses upon it, which I gave his Majesty and your Highness an account of, I told him his Majesty's mind: to which he replied, that he had always thought so too, while he had any hopes of the peace being

made; but he did not see how that could be, unless his Majesty would make it, by declaring the terms upon which he thought it fit and reasonable for both parties to agree: that he did not find his Majesty disposed to make this peace, having never received any answer to what he had written upon that subject: and therefore, the war being, in his opinion, like to draw out in length, he was resolved to try if he might have his Majesty's leave to make that journey after this campaign, and thereupon to write those letters he sent me. Further than conveying them, I had nothing in commission from his Highness, but only to endeavour that it might be a secret. And I must confess, as far as my short sight will reach, I think there can be no inconvenience in that, from circumstances of all sides, whether it ends here or no; which will depend wholly upon his Majesty and your Highness.

I am sorry this station furnishes me with no occasions of entering into your Highness's more particular service, by the honour of your commands; which should always meet with the obedience that becomes me, and the constant devotion wherewith I am, Sir, your Highness's most faithful, and most obedient humble servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, June 19, N. S. 1676.

Since my last, I have received from the French Ambassadors at Nimeguen two passports for the Emperor, as many for the Duke of Brandenburgh, and this State; with three for the Duke of Nieuburg: so as there want only from France two for Denmark, whose Minister here is to the full as punctilious as any other. Those for the Emperor I exchanged yesterday, and transmitted the three Imperial passes immediately to the Ambassadors

at Nimeguen, who by their letters pressed me for them, as well as for the rest from the German Princes. The others I could not yet exchange, the Brandenburgh Ministers being out of town, and the Nieuburg passports not being yet arrived. Those, likewise, from the four German Princes I before mentioned, are not yet come; but, I question not, a few days will bring all into my hands. Those last arrived for Brandenburgh are in the style he desires, of Ambassador and Plenipotentiary. I do not hear of any other Duke or Prince, besides that Elector, that intends to give his Minister the style of Ambassador; and I wish he would have declined it: for, on the one side, he expects they should be treated like those of crowned heads, and they, I doubt, will not understand it so. I know some have said upon it, that they thought as much ought to be given to a King's Envoy, as to an Elector's Ambassador, if that style be allowed them: I hear it has never been so in France, no more than in Spain: and that the pretence is grounded chiefly upon his Majesty having treated Prince Maurice so, being Ambassador from the Elector of Brandenburgh: which I had never heard any thing of till the other day, from the Lunenburgh Minister here.

Having observed in his Majesty's instructions of December 16th, 1675, to his Ambassadors for the congress, that I was commanded to repair immediately to Nimeguen; after having procured effectually from the States whatever should be found necessary to be done on their parts, as well for the actual forming the assembly, the determining a reasonable circuit of neutral country, next adjacent to Nimeguen, between the two rivers of the Waal and the Meuse; as for the dispatching by themselves, and their confederates, the passports necessary for the other parties, in the forms that are

proper. And conceiving to have now accomplished all three points, the determination of neutral country between those two rivers being wholly left to his Majesty by the States and their allies; and the passports necessary being all exchanged, and those less important being yet every day expected, I thought myself obliged, by the tenor of his Majesty's said instructions, especially upon the arrival of the French Ambassadors, to prepare myself for my journey to Nimeguen. And having a house there already upon my hands, at the rate of very near fourscore pounds a month (though his Majesty is not pleased to consider that, or any other expences necessary upon this removal), I have given orders for carrying away my goods to Nimeguen with the first, intending to follow them so soon as my house, by their arrival, will be ready to receive me; which, I suppose, may be about the time that, in answer to this, I may know if his Majesty has any further commands for me here before I go.

I remember but two businesses relating to this place that I am yet to give you the account of; which are, that of the Jews petition for Surinam, and that of the English company at Dort. I promised you a deduction of this last by a former post, and have deferred it only because I would do both together, and speak to the Pensioner once more, upon both of them, before I did it: which I have not yet been able to do; but hope to do it by the next, and give you the account of them, as well as what will be induced to in the business of Prince William. I am ever, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, June 24, N. S. 1676.

With your two last of the 6th and 9th, I have received all the several papers you were pleased to

send me, concerning the several parties acceptance of his Majesty's mediation; as likewise what concerns Mr. Skelton's present dispatch. I have, since my last, made my utmost attempt, both upon the Pensioner, and the other Commissioners of secret affairs, in order towards the facilitating that pursuit by some offices from hence. And though the Pensioner continued obstinate to move nothing in it himself, yet I prevailed with him, at length, to let the others understand, that he should not dislike their doing it; and that whatever the Emperor should be content to do in compliance with his Majesty, he believed this State would be satisfied with. Hereupon I got Monsieur Mauregnault to propose it again yesterday; and at night he came to my house, but not finding me within, he left word with my secretary, that what could be done was resolved in that business; and that they had written to communicate it to the Prince, according to their forms. I have not been able to find him to-day, so as to know the particulars; but suppose they will amount to something that may conduce to the good of the affair, which I shall, by next post, give you account of. I have made all my instances in this matter as wholly from myself; but Monsieur Van Beuninghen writ them word, that I had orders from his Majesty: which I was content they should believe from him, though I owned it not.

I send you inclosed a letter for his Majesty, from the Duke of Hanover, delivered me by his Resident here; who desired that his Master's passports might style him Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, and his Ministers, Plenipotentiaries; not *Ministres et Deputés*, as the French style runs to all the German Princes, except those they sent last for the Dukes of Brandenburgh and Nieuburg. I observed in these last, with some wonder, that the

could to the congress, and made haste to the place, as desiring no better peace, than upon the present plan of affairs. The confederates, especially the House of Austria, are sullen, as losers use to be, and so in all the paces of the treaty are slow and resty; hoping for something from the campaign, which may make room for pretensions that would hardly be in countenance as things stand at present. The Swede is earnest for a peace; as having more hopes of recovering himself that way than by a war. This State desires it as much as any, and has no pretences of its own; but dares not break from their confederates, not trusting England enough, nor France at all, so as to depend upon either after the peace is made. Denmark and Brandenburgh are eager in the war; finding the Swedes weak, divided, and unrelievable by France any further than their money, and so hoping to drive them this summer out of Germany; which, for aught I see, they may endanger, if the concert of the confederates prove answerable to their strength in those parts.

With these dispositions the congress is to begin; but how it will end, must certainly depend, in a great measure, upon the successes that will attend the campaign. The designs, at present, of the confederates, seem to determine in the siege of Stratsonde in Pomerania; of Philipsburgh in Germany; and in Flanders, upon that of Maestricht: and it will be hard if one of these does not occasion a battle, which may be more decisive than any siege.

I know your Lordship has but too much share in the trouble of my constant letters to Mr. Secretary Williamson; and therefore I shall not give you any further interruption, than by the very unfeigned professions of my being most passionately, and ever, my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful, and most humble servant.

To the King.

Nimeguen, Sept. 2, N. S. 1676.

May it please your Majesty,

THOUGH what we writ jointly this day of our conjecture, that some of the parties, perhaps, on each side, would this winter endeavour rather to fall into separate measures with some of the parties, than to advance a general peace, was grounded upon what Sir Lionel Jenkins told me he had observed in his late visits and conversations with the French Ambassadors, wherein they owned, very plainly, their hopes and expectation of breaking the force of the alliance this winter, by drawing off either the Dutch, or, at least, some of the German Princes; yet I thought fit to trouble your Majesty with some more particular observations of my own upon this subject, in discourse more private with several of the parties, and which I have not communicated to any other. Monsieur Colbert, after much compliment to me the first month I was here, of his Master's particular esteem of me, and of his own believing that no man but I could make the peace, in regard of the interest he believed I had with the Prince of Orange, and of the necessity there was of the House of Austria's complying with any measures the Prince should take; has lately descended into more particular discourses, of the advantages the Prince shall be sure to find in a treaty with the King his Master; of the convenience the Prince would find in carrying it on privately with France, during the more public negotiations here; that the late Duke of Bavaria did the same at the treaty of Munster, and thereby was the person that made that peace, and at the same time established his own interests with all the advantage he could propose to himself; that the

Prince of Orange might act the same part here, and with the same success both to the general peace and to himself; that he could negotiate it by no man so well as by me; and none could have a part of greater honour or advantage than mine would be in the conduct of such an affair. I told him, upon this occasion, the truth of what I thought concerning the Prince and myself in this matter; which was, that though, perhaps, his Highness would hear me talk to him, either of his general or particular interests, as soon as another man, yet I had never known that person who had *aucun pouvoir sur son esprit:* that your Majesty had found you had a great deal less than you had reason to expect; and that others had none at all, who pretended to have more than their share: that, by what I knew of the Prince's dispositions, I much doubted the relief of Maestricht would not dispose him to the peace; and that he would be loth to sit down melancholy at the Hague with that thorn at his heart. That I heard he was *fort dépité* at present; but that when the campaign ended I should have occasion of seeing him, and should then be sure to know the bottom of his heart; which I should acquaint your Majesty with, and observe your directions upon it. Monsieur Colbert replied, that if the Prince would by me have given them any private assurances, that the carrying of Maestricht would have disposed him to the peace, he was sure the King his Master would willingly have given him the glory of it, and employed his army somewhere in Flanders; *mais qu'il ne falloit pas quitter le certain pour l'incertain;* that he believed the Prince was in ill humour upon it, *mais que le temps le rameneroit;* and that he beleived that would not be before the end of the campaign.

I observed, in some particular discourses of Mon-

sieur Beverning, in a humour when we are aptest to tell truth, that at least, for his own part, he was extreme ill satisfied with the Spaniards, and with the war being pursued only for the interests of that Crown, who contributed so little towards it: that he desired the peace so much, as, if Spain would not be reasonable in it, to wish for it without them. This, I know, is the sense of the substantial part of the people in Holland, as well as his; and whether the Prince, and the persons at present in the government, will be able, after this disgrace at Maestricht, to keep the spirits there in temper enough to carry on the war another year, I cannot yet, or at this distance, take upon me to judge.

I have observed, by my conversation with the Swedish Ministers, both at the Hague and here, that they desire a peace with more impatience than any of the parties; and so far, that, if they cannot have it general in a short time, they would be glad of a particular one, either with Holland, or the Duke of Brandenburgh. They do not think France considers them at all in proportion to the losses and misfortunes they have engaged them in: and one of their Ambassadors told me, he did not believe *que les affaires fussent encore dans l'assiette que la France demandoit, ni qu'il estoit necessaire pour leur faire tout de bon souhaiter la paix generale.* He said this a little mysteriously, making me believe he had already particular reason to think so, but should, in a little time, know more, and would then, in confidence, acquaint me with it.

I doubt it will be necessary for me, in the course of this affair, sometimes to give your Majesty some such accounts as this, of what may pass to me in particular confidence from some of the Ministers, either by force of old acquaintances, or any other motions they shall find towards it: and, possibly, they may give your Majesty more light than the

more open paces here. But if your Majesty will avoid the trouble, and appoint any other person to whom I shall address such dispatches, I shall not farther presume to give your Majesty these interruptions; but content myself with your Majesty's pardon for what is past, and with your justice in believing and accepting that inviolable truth and devotion, wherewith I am, and shall be ever, Sir, your Majesty's most loyal subject and servant,

W. Temple.

To the King.

Nimeguen, Sept. 20, N.S. 1676.

May it please your Majesty,

Upon the Prince's return from the army, he was pleased to write me a letter, giving me notice of it, and desiring me to meet him at his house near Utrecht, which I did on Thursday last. I stayed two days with his Highness, and had very large discourses with him upon the events of the present campaign, and appearances of the treaty. As to my own part in them, I shall only say, that they were all applied to those ends, and in that method, which I thought most agreeable to your Majesty's intentions, and to the several instructions I have had the honour to receive from your Majesty, or by your order, upon this subject. The substance of all his Highness's discourse, I shall sum up in as few and as short heads as I can for your Majesty's ease.

He expressed great sense of the misfortune of this campaign, and said, he knew very well, *Le malheur de son poste, où pendant que les autres faisoient les fautes, c'estoit à luy de souffrir la honte.* When I told him that was too hard an expression, and that nobody thought he deserved, he repeated it again, and said, It must be so in the opinion of

all the world, but only some few, who knew the inside of the business: that he saw no remedy for it with the present conduct of Spain, nor with such men as they employed in Flanders: that some of them were loth to venture the army, and some as loth to venture themselves, and others knew not how to do either *à propos:* that I might very well think, however, that he had no mind to sit down with the disgrace of such a campaign; and that if the Spaniards could but garrison their towns, so as to make any defence in form, he would yet hope he might have his revenge another year, by trusting to no army but his own.

When I asked, whether he thought the States were in humour, or the country in condition, to go on with the war? he said, He would not dissemble it, they had a horrible mind to the peace; but so they had for these two last years: that they were, however, able to go on with it, especially if they were eased of their subsidies to the allies; and would be insensibly engaged in it, as they had been these two last campaigns, if they could not have a peace with some honour and safety.

When I took notice of his little inclinations to any sudden peace, he said, on the contrary, he had a mind to it, and that no interests of his own should delay it; but that he could not tell how to come by it (which words, I remember, he spoke in English): that he would deal plainly with me as to his own thoughts; that though a congress was necessary, yet, he believed we could not hope to make a peace here in less than about four years: that he was of opinion, if your Majesty would have it this winter, you must make it yourself, by telling all the parties upon what terms you expected and thought reasonable it should be made: that if you would do this, you must at least employ more private negotiations towards it, and first sound France to the bottom,

instead of sounding him (the Prince); and this for two reasons: first, because France was single, and master of their own resolutions, which he was not; and though he could answer for himself, yet he could not for those he was engaged with: next, because if his Highness or Spain should first declare themselves upon the conditions of a general peace, France might very well make use of it towards breaking their alliance, or the confidence of it, which they could not do towards France, which had no other ally but the Swede, and him but very little considered, either in the peace or the war.

When I would have entered into some discourse of conditions the most apparent for the peace, he said, That, upon the whole, he did not believe, in the present posture of affairs, France could possibly be brought to such terms as it was possible for the allies to accept; nor was it reasonable to think or to hope they should, after such a campaign as had passed in Flanders: but it was not yet ended in Alsace, nor, perhaps, in Flanders neither: for though he would not go into the field again to do nothing, yet, if there should happen a good occasion, he would be gone again at half an hour's warning: that, however this campaign should end with France, it was like to pass well enough against the Swedes; and as they had already eighteen thousand men of the Lunenburgh and Munster troops by the conquest of Bremen; so they hoped to have thirty thousand more next campaign, if the Swedes were beaten out of Pomerania, which was not unlikely yet before the year ended.

He said, we must talk over this matter again when the campaign was done, and that we should then know better what to say upon it: that it would be necessary for me to come sometimes to the Hague, and to that end advised me to get leave to do it whenever I saw occasion. I told his High-

ness, that I had it already, and should make use of it whenever his Highness thought it necessary, and would let me know it, as well as upon any other occasions of your Majesty's service there.

I remember no more to trouble your Majesty with out of all our discourses upon this matter. There was one thing more his Highness said, which, I think, will be fit to tell your Majesty, though he might not intend it. He told me, he had received a letter from your Majesty, in answer to that he sent by my wife; that you had refused him leave to go over into England before the peace, and with terms something hardish (which were his English words); that he thought it was fit to take an answer when your Majesty gave it him; and therefore he should trouble you no more about it: that your Majesty best knew when you thought was a fit time for him to do it, and, he supposed, would let him know it, since, it seems, he did not himself.

I cannot but add one word of an advice of another kind, and from another hand, because it was new to me, and looked considerable. Upon discourse with Count Oxensterne, about the Court of Vienna (where he had been lately Ambassador), he told me, the Emperor was so infirm, that it was not believed he could ever have children that would live; that this being foreseen, he found among the Ministers there, that it was resolved, in case of his dying without sons, to leave the whole succession of the duchy of Austria and its dependencies to the Duke of Lorrain, with condition to marry the Emperor's sister, and by this means to make way for his being Emperor, which he did not believe there would be any difficulty in, especially when such an accident should find him in the head of the Imperial army.

I humbly beg your Majesty's pardon for this long interruption, and your acceptance of that humble

and hearty devotion wherewith I am, and shall be ever, Sir, your Majesty's most loyal, and most obedient subject and servant, W. Temple.

To the King.

Nimeguen, Oct. 19, N. S. 1676.

May it please your Majesty,

I CANNOT better acknowledge the honour of receiving your Majesty's particular commands, than by assuring your Majesty of the infinite satisfaction I shall have in obeying them. I do not remember that the reflections I made upon my last discourse with the Prince, went so far as what your Majesty is pleased to make upon them in your last letter. I did not conclude upon all which past, that he had a mind to continue the war; but rather, that he was unresolved between the desires of repairing his honour by another campaign, and the fears of being more in such company as he is joined with in Flanders. But though his dispositions seemed doubtful, yet his judgment was indeed very positive, that the peace would not be made this winter, unless your Majesty undertook it, by advancing some propositions of your own towards it: he concluded, that we should talk it over again after the campaign should be ended on all sides: and, indeed, the winter-quarters of the Imperial armies, wherever they fall, will open the prospect into the next year's events, more than any thing that has passed this summer: for if the French can maintain a defensive war in Alsace another campaign, I believe they will take St. Omers, Cambray, or Valenciennes (if not two or all of them), in spite of all the Dutch and Spanish forces will be able to do in Flanders, unless a very great change happen in their conduct or fortune. But if the German armies should enter into France, that Crown may, perhaps, have work

enough on that side, and be thereby forced to call away so many of their troops out of Flanders, as to leave the Prince of Orange an easy campaign there. This, I find, the French Ambassadors here apprehend, in case the Swede be wholly beaten out of Germany this season, and the alliance continues united and vigorous another year. And Monsieur Beverning, after all his *fanfares* about a separate peace (which your Majesty will meet with in two of our joint letters by the last and this ordinary), seems too public and affected to mean much more, than to induce the Emperor into those measures: for, after he had talked himself sober with me upon that whole subject, he said at last, in plain terms, that if the Germans would let Brisac alone, and enter into France next spring; the States would not make the peace this year; and that they had already taken their measures, and found they could go on with the war another campaign, and with the same forces they had this last, or something greater, if there were a good occasion.

He intends to go again into Holland about the 10th of next month, when the next assembly will be of the States of Holland, at which time the counsels and measures are usually taken for the ensuing year, and always for the chief expence of it, as near as it can be then foreseen. I hope my Lord Berkley will by that time be here: and then I shall take an occasion of going again to the Prince; and shall, I suppose, be able, at so critical a time, to make a clearer judgment of what your Majesty may hope from him, as to the peace; and neglect no endeavours to give his Highness those impressions which are not only agreeable with your Majesty's intentions, but, in my opinion, with his own interests too, in the posture he stands with friends and enemies, both at home and abroad. I shall then give your Majesty a full account of what dispositions or

motions I find at the Hague, which the French Ambassadors say, upon all occasions, must chiefly govern what passes here. In the mean time, I shall only beg your Majesty's pardon for this interruption, and your justice in believing me what I shall ever be, with the greatest devotion and truth, Sir, your Majesty's most loyal, and most obedient subject and servant, W. Temple.

To the Prince of Orange.

Nimeguen, Oct. 31, N.S. 1676.

May it please your Highness,

I RECEIVED lately a letter from his Majesty, dated at Newmarket the 8th of this month, and in answer to the account I gave him of your Highness's discourses with me at Soesdyke, and your opinions that his Majesty proposing the terms of a peace to the parties will be the only way of making it. His Majesty says upon it, that he doubts your Highness has a mind to continue the war, which he is sorry for; because, as it is conducted by your allies, he fears you will not find your account in it; and assures me, one of the great motives he has for the peace, is the belief that your Highness will be the better for it; that it has ever been his endeavour, and is so still, to oblige France to declare itself to him upon what terms they will be content to make the peace; but if they will not, it must take the forms which the congress here will give it; and if that will not bring it to pass, his Majesty must content himself with having done what he could towards it, according to the figure he has taken of the common mediator. Upon another subject his Majesty says, he is glad to understand from me, that your Highness is of opinion, you must learn from his Majesty the time of your going over into England, which is not yet proper for it; but when it

shall be so, he shall be as glad to see you, as you can with yourself.

I have given your Highness the King's own words in what I have written, between two marks, and intended to have given you a larger account of it myself at the Hague before this, if my Lord Berkley had come hither so soon as we were made believe: it cannot be long before he arrives; and it will not be long after, I hope, before I shall have the honour of kissing your Highness's hands, and ending the discourse we began at Soesdyke. In the mean time, I am with great thanks to acknowledge the very great favour which, my wife says, your Highness is pleased to offer, of lodging me at the Hague, and may very well take your Highness at your word, if the weather and my health continue ill, as they have been of late.

I send your Highness inclosed a letter I received from Mr. Sidney, which came not sooner, because, as I found by another, he had great disputes with his father before he would give this answer. I am very sorry for it; but since you find the Lieutenant-colonel so very capable, I hope it will be no loss. In case he has the regiment, Major Archer has begged of me to mention him to your Highness, for the Lieutenant-colonel's place, which I should not do, but that I remember your Highness expressed a very good opinion of him; and I find by him, that he cannot (as he says) possibly live in the regiment he is with Fenwick and Weasly. I hear, this last is endeavouring to turn out one Captain Knight, for having been a friend to Major Archer in some of their quarrels; I humbly beg your Highness to suspend any such resolution till I have the honour of seeing you. I am ever, with perfect truth and devotion, Sir, your Highness's most obedient, and most humble servant,

W. Temple.

To Mr. Secretary Williamson.

Sir, Hague, Jan. 5, N. S. 1677.

SINCE my last, the day after my arrival here, I endeavoured to speak with the Pensioner upon those matters relating to this embassy, and still remaining without any answer, or, at least, dispatch. After having twice excused himself upon his indisposition, at length he gave me an hour; and I found him in the posture of a sick man, complaining of *une fievre lente*, and weakness upon the loss of very much blood; which, he said, was all *sanguis adustus*. Which I repeat from his own mouth, as expressions that, compared to other circumstances of our conversation, made me conclude his illness to be at least as much of mind as of body; and derived, perhaps, from the fatigue and chagrin of his business, rather than his ill constitution; though something of that be natural to him.

I first complained of the States delay, not only in the satisfaction, but even in the answer, due to two of his Majesty's letters, upon the business of the three Scots ministers, which I took to be clear in the words of the treaty, and subject to no dispute or evasion. He confessed, it might look like a neglect in the States, not to answer the letters they had received from his Majesty; but they had delayed it in hopes his Majesty might have been satisfied with the reasons their Ambassadors in England had been charged to represent on that subject; and they were unwilling it should appear by their letter, either that his Majesty demanded a thing of them by virtue of a treaty, which they did not think the treaty obliged them to; or that any of the King's subjects, who were, or should be hereafter, banished by his Majesty, might from their letter take occasion to hope for refuge in these

countries. But if I would enter into the debate of this matter at a conference with the States Commissioners, and should not be satisfied with their reasons, but desire them in writing, they would either give them me to represent to his Majesty, or else they would comprehend them in a letter to his Majesty, in answer of those they had received from him.

I said I was resolved to enter upon this matter, and see the bottom of it while I was here; but hoped they would upon it be so far satisfied with the clearness of the case, as to answer his Majesty's demand rather by compliance than reasons: and so we resolved to attend two or three days, in hopes he might at that time assist at the conference, since he desired it; and I knew very well, nothing would be done to any purpose without it. I found, however, that the stress of their pretensions will lie in the difference between banished, and either rebels or fugitives who are named in the articles. For the Pensioner thinks his Majesty may declare any of his subjects rebels or fugitives; and such a declaration is enough (being signified to the States) to ground the demand now made. But when a Prince or State banisheth any man, they thereby declare him to be a subject no longer; and have not afterwards power to declare him rebel or fugitive, especially if he have offered himself to the law; as two of these men, he said, did, and did not fly their country, but by sentence were forced to do it. But the issue of this matter I must refer to our conference; as likewise that of the Dort Company, and the ships Thomas and John which were recommended in your last to my care.

When these discourses had passed, the Pensioner asked me, whether I had brought them the peace from Nimeguen? and I replied, Since he was so ignorant of what had passed there, I would tell him,

that they had carried their matters there *en habiles gens:* that to bring their allies to the congress, they had pretended to treat by the first of November, whether they came or no; that after the day they had found fault with the powers; offered at new; made the Mediators course from the one to the other; spun out two months time in these paces, and thereby were got in sight of both Spanish and Imperial Ministers, which, I supposed, was the thing they always intended.

He answered me, with something in his face both serious and sad, that either I did not know the course of their affairs here, since I left the Hague, or else I would not seem to know them: that they desired the peace from their hearts, and not only so, but thought it absolutely necessary: that they would certainly have entered into the treaty, if the French had either brought powers in form to be admitted, or obliged themselves to procure new ones. I said, I believed him, and that they could have found no better way to bring their allies to the congress.

He replied, *Je vous dirai donc encore, que nous n' insisterons pas sur une paix selon les pretensions de nos alliés, & ne vous réponds pas que nous ne la ferons même séparée.* I said, it was at least a matter of that moment, that I believed they would think of it before they did it.

With this, he drew his chair up closer to me, and began, with great earnestness, a very long discourse upon this whole matter; saying first, that they had thought enough of it already; and for his part, he was grown, by thinking much, to conclude it was without remedy; that they had great obligations to Spain, for entering into the war to save this country; but therein to save Flanders too: but they had made no ill return by continuing the war now three years only for the interests of Spain; since there remained

nothing of consequence between France and them: that they had, besides, engaged to carry it on this following year, with the same number of forces they did the last; and so they would, if their allies had performed their parts; but for Spain, they took no care, but only to let them see they were resolved to perish: that they sent their fleets home from Sicily without any of the payments agreed for, and left them to be paid here by the States at their arrival: that not a penny could be got of 300,000 guilders they owed them for carriages and provisions the last campaign, and which was designed for their magazines in Flanders against the next: that they had represented to Spain the absolute necessity of keeping so many forces in Flanders as would defend their towns while the Prince took the field, which he was content to do with the army of this State; but not a word of answer: that they had then desired Spain to receive so many of the forces of their allies as might serve to defend their places; but, instead of this, they drove them out of their country: that for the Emperor, they had always told him, unless his army would march into France, or give a battle, Flanders could not be defended last year, nor this next, unless his forces took up their winter-quarters in Alsatia, or that side of the Rhine; but at Vienna, they considered Flanders as much as the Dutch do Hungary; and because the Imperial officers could make greater advantages of winter-quarters in Germany, than in such a harassed country as Alsatia, their armies must return this winter, and thereby lose all the advantages that might have been made of the last campaign: that for want of magazines in Flanders, two or three of the best frontier towns would be lost next year before the Imperialists could possibly take the field; and if Cambray, Valenciennes, and Mons were gone,

all the rest would certainly revolt, considering the miseries they had already suffered, and must still, by a longer war: that either the Prince could not be soon enough in the field to prevent it, or else he would not be able to subsist for want of magazines, and the country's being like to be deserted and waste by this business of contributions unsettled; or else he would not be strong enough to venture a battle, or raise a siege, considering how weak the Spaniards would be, how poorly their towns would be defended, and how strong France would come on that side into the field while they had no enemy upon the Rhine: that the Prince's friends could never suffer him to go into the field, only to see towns taken under his nose, and perhaps the whole country lost while he was expected to defend it, and rendered uncapable of doing it by the faults of the Spaniards, who yet would lay it to his charge, and be the first to reproach him; which would be done likewise by his enemies at home, and ill-willers abroad, who would be glad of the occasion.

In the mean time, from France they could have whatever conditions they pretended, either as to the restoring of Maestricht, or the *reglement* of commerce, or the advantages of the Prince; and as to this last, all they could desire: that they had letters every week from the Mareschal d'Estrades upon this subject, and from other hands: and for his own part, though he should fall into it with regret, yet he did not see what else was to be done; and he did not know one man in Holland that was not of the same mind.

This long discourse ended with saying, that he did not talk to me like an Ambassador, but a friend, and one whose opinion he esteemed: that he discovered to me *leur fort, et leur foible;* and would be glad to know what else I thought they could do

dans l'accablement de cet état par une si longue guerre, and all the circumstances that now attend it both from their friends and their enemies.

I gave him thanks for the confidence he expressed towards me; but desired to be excused for giving my counsel or opinion to a person who was so able to take measures for the State and for himself. But I desired to know what he reckoned would become of Flanders after this State had made a separate peace? He replied, that it would be lost either in one summer or two; but more probably in one: for he believed the towns of Cambray, Valenciennes, Namur, and Mons, might be taken in one campaign; or if Valenciennes were only taken on that side, Cambray would be out of care, and must fall of itself: that after this, none of the great towns would offer at defending themselves, unless it were Antwerp, and for that perhaps some measures might be taken with France.

I asked him how he reckoned this State was to live with France, after Flanders was wholly lost? and whether he thought it would not be perfectly at discretion?

He said, if they could hope to save Flanders by continuing the war, they would not think of a separate peace; but if they saw it must be lost by one as well as the other, they thought it best by the last; which would not only less exhaust the State, but be less dishonour to the Prince too: that after Flanders was lost, they would live so with France, that they should find it more for their profit to preserve this State than to destroy it: that he knew very well, it was not a thing to be chosen; but they should be forced to it, as men are sometimes to desperate remedies: that they had long hoped some resource from better conduct in the Spanish affairs: that they had believed some impressions of the German army in France itself might have brought the

business *à un accommodement raisonnable:* that he, for his own part, had ever believed England itself would cry halt at one step or other; and if they would be content to see half Flanders lost, yet they would not see it all; and the same of Sicily: that the King had the peace in his hands for these two years past, and might have made it when he pleased, and upon what conditions he thought fit: that for their parts, Monsieur Van Beuninghen had desired his Majesty to say whatever he would have in it, and that this State would endeavour it upon any terms his Majesty proposed; but that he could never get one word of answer: that he had full power to make any sort of alliance with his Majesty that he desired; but nothing of that neither: that he confessed it was true, *cuncta prius tentanda;* but he found at length it was *immedicabile vulnus;* and he saw nothing left for them to do, but a separate peace: that he understood very well what I meant by asking how they were to live with France after the loss of Flanders; but he had cast up that too: that, first, *la visée de la France sera plûtôt sur l'Allemagne ou sur l'Italie, que sur eux:* that, in the next place, he knew it would not be their interest to conquer or destroy this State, but could make better uses by preserving it in a dependence upon them: that the King had seen their country, and understood it so; and had said upon all occasions since, that he had rather have them for his friends than his subjects: that for their religion, which he had as much at heart as any man, he did not fear any thing in that from France neither; that the King was not *si coiffé de sa religion*, as thereby to lose any interests of his State, and he knew very well that any force or change in religion here would quickly destroy the trade, and thereby the sea-forces of this country, which he might make better use of, than if it were left *un grand marécage:* but at

last, if their State must fall in four-and-twenty hours, it were better for them to defer it to the last; and that it should happen at night, rather than at noon.

All this was discoursed with so much earnestness, that I was afraid it had done him hurt; and, indeed, it left him not in condition nor breath to go on with a longer conversation. And so, having said it was not a matter to be resolved between us two, and that I wished him health enough to go through the thoughts and business of so great a conjuncture, I left him.

The next morning I went to the Prince; and after some common talk, I told him I had seen the Pensioner, and asked, whether his Highness knew what discourse had passed between us? He said, No, he had not seen him since; and asked me what it was? I repeated several heads of it, and said, it all concluded in the necessity of this State's making a separate peace; and that he said, there was not one man in Holland against it. The Prince interrupted me, and said, 'Yes, I am sure I know one, and that is myself; and I will hinder it as long as I can: but if any thing should happen to me, they will do it in two days time.' I asked his Highness, whether he was of the Pensioner's opinion in what was likely to happen next year in Flanders? He said, the appearances were ill; but campaigns did not always end as they began: that some accidents might happen, which no man could foresee; and if a battle should be given, none could answer for the event. After this, and two or three little things he said about our indifference in what became either of the peace or of Flanders, his Highness rose up, as if he did not care for going on farther with the discourse; and so broke it off.

I have been very exact in the account of all these passages, the introductions to them, and often the very words (which I have marked), because I be-

lieve them the true representations of the present dispositions here in this matter of a separate peace. That is, the people in general, the towns, the States, are all bent upon it, from an extreme dislike of their allies conduct, both in the treaty and the war. But the Prince alone, upon whose honour the allies have wholly relied in all their negotiations with this State, is not yet able to digest it; and being equally apprehensive of the dishonour may befall him, either by separating from his allies by a peace, or pursuing the war in conjunction with Spain (whose weakness and ill conduct will make the faults, of which he must, in common opinion, bear the blame), he is certainly, at this time, most extremely desirous of a general peace, and will not only go into it, in such ways as his Majesty shall think the most expedient; but will take it the kindest in the world, if his Majesty should think fit to use his offices with France, so as to bring it about with honour to his Highness, in some moderate satisfaction to his allies.

If his Majesty interposeth no further than by the bare and formal offices of his mediation at the place of treaty, and the Austrians hold off, as they have hitherto done; I suppose the French and Dutch Ambassadors at Nimeguen will fall into separate, and, perhaps, private negotiations of the differences between them; which, I guess, from the dispositions I can observe on both sides, will be very soon and easily adjusted: and then the Dutch will be ready to clap up a separate peace in two days time, whenever they grow more out of patience at the slowness and unsincereness of their allies in the general treaty; or more apprehensive of dishonour and ill success in the war; or when these or any other circumstances shall bring the Prince to fall into the same opinion with the States upon this matter.

Monsieur Colbert hath in many and particular discourses, besides others from the Mareschal d'Estrades, told me so much of their desires to enter into this matter of separate negotiations and measures with the Prince and this State; of the easiness they should find in point of commerce, and advantages his Highness should receive by it to himself, both in the treaty, and in the course of the King their Master's friendship hereafter; that, I suppose, there can occur no difficulty of that side, whenever it grows full ripe on this. And therefore, I presume, the knowledge of all these circumstances would be necessary for his Majesty's information, in so great and so nice a conjuncture; and more particularly so, for his instructions to us, as to our conduct at Nimeguen, whenever we meet with such motions there, as are likely to arise from such dispositions here.

I beg your pardon for so long a trouble, and one word, if you please, of the inclosed by last post from hence being delivered to his Majesty, and your belief of my being always, Sir, your most faithful, humble servant.

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

Sir, Hague, January 8, N. S. 1677.

I AM to acknowledge the honour of one from you of the 5th past, since which time I found it necessary for me to make a turn hither; both from a letter of the Prince which desired it, and some business relating to this embassy that required a dispatch; and also, that, in such a conjuncture, I might be perfectly informed how the game was like to play; which could be known no where but here, nor, indeed, by other hands than those I deal with, which are the Prince and the Pensioner.

You will have known from my dispatch last ordinary, all I am like to know upon the subject of a general or separate peace; and I find by Sir Lionel Jenkins's letter this day to me, that he is fallen upon the scent of this last at Nimeguen, since I came away; and likewise, that he has received some letters from Court since I left him; which looks as if you had apprehended it there already, and given some orders in a late letter about our conduct in the case, by way of protestation; which he seems much in pain about, and desires my help in, without having sent me any copy of Mr. Secretary Williamson's letter upon that subject; so that I can make no judgment at all of the thing, how it is given us in charge. But if it should be, as I apprehend by his letter, that in case we find a separate peace between France and Holland concluding or concluded at Nimeguen, without our communication, we should protest publicly against it in his Majesty's name, I do not well understand to what purpose such a thing can be intended. If we dislike the thing, and it appear to sanguine men at Court as dangerous as to melancholy men in the country, we may endeavour to prevent it; but if it be once concluded, our protestations can, in my opinion, serve only to irritate the parties, and bind them faster together by the apprehension of our being angry at them both, and at their conjunction. Nor can I well see, either what ground such a protestation can have, any more than what effect. For the parties have not obliged themselves to his Majesty upon his mediation of a general peace, either that they will not treat without his mediation, nor separately; or if they had, the same interests that force them to break through so many obligations to their allies would make them as bold with those to a mediator. Besides, I observed in

Monsieur Colbert's exceptions to our form of powers, he said, there was one essential default in the very dispositive; which was, the omission of that clause, that they might treat with the adverse Ministers, either with or without the intervention of the Mediators: and so we may certainly reckon they will do, when interest leads them to it.

I am forced to trouble you with this discourse, having received this letter from Sir Lionel Jenkins since I closed mine this night to Mr. Secretary Williamson. I know not whether what I have said be at all to the purpose, because it is very likely I may have misapprehended the late instructions sent us over, which are mentioned very short in my colleague's letter to me. Besides, I am the apter to think I may be mistaken, because I remember, upon our desiring instructions two months since, how to conduct ourselves in case of separate treaties, we had no answer given us upon it. And I will tell you, that not only the allies are of opinion that we should promote it; but the Prince himself seems to believe we would be glad of it; though I assure him all our instructions run quite contrary, and impower us only to perform our offices towards the general peace.

I am ever, with the esteem and truth that become me, Sir, your, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord, Hague, January 8, N. S. 1677.

Upon the incident of a letter just now from my colleague Sir Lionel Jenkins, concerning some instructions he had received since I left him, in relation to a separate peace, I thought it necessary to write the inclosed to Mr. Secretary Coventry, having already closed my pacquet to Mr. Secretary Williamson; and our instructions commanding us

to correspond with the Secretaries of State; so as all advices of importance are necessarily addressed to one of them for our discharge.

However, I thought what I had written fit to be presented to your Lordship as early as I could, in hopes you will give your hand towards our full instructions in his Majesty's mind upon this matter. For my part, if I apprehend right what Sir Lionel Jenkins writes to me about a protestation, I cannot understand the drift of such a counsel, nor why one should be angry, when one hurts nobody but one's self. To prevent the thing may be a wise and necessary counsel, and in which his Majesty's meaning ought to have been signified early, where it was likely to be of moment to that end; but if the thing should be done, I cannot imagine either how to ground our offence, or seek our revenge; and it would be to stay till we are struck, and then trust to crying out. Whereas, for aught I know, it were better to anger either of the parties before a separate peace, than both of them afterwards; and if we must strain any points of courtesy with them, to do it rather by making a fair and general peace, than by complaining and protesting against a separate one.

I beg your Lordship's pardon for this trouble, and your justice in believing me ever, my Lord, your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, January 12, N. S. 1677.

I HAVE received the honour of yours of the 26th past, with a copy of another of the same date to the Plenipotentiaries at Nimeguen; for which I humbly thank you. As to what concerns the points depending here, I can add little more than what I writ last; but that I have received assurance that

the States will give sudden order for the returning of the money, and security given the master of the Thomas and John taken by a Dutch man-of-war from a Dunkirk caper: and this they will do upon the assurance I gave them (from his Majesty's letters) of the like procedure on our side towards them in like cases.

All I have left, is, the affair of the three Scots ministers, which must be brought to a conference; and that the Pensioner's illness will not yet suffer him to assist at, since it must be at my house, and he has not yet stirred abroad, but is something better to-day, so as to give me hopes it may be to-morrow, or Thursday; if not, I will have it on Friday without him, and drive it as far as it will go. His illness begins to be apprehended by many, being a continual, though slow fever, and would extremely disconcert the measures of this State, if any thing of ill should happen to him. Don Emanuel de Lyra, who has absented himself from his post here for near three months, upon the shame of appearing without money for the fleet from Sicily, and that to Denmark last year, and the want whereof would have endangered some trouble at Amsterdam, if the ships from Sicily had been able to come in before the frost; writes now word from Brussels, that he is preparing to come away immediately; and that he shall do it with less regret and shame, being possessed of the money due *por el Mediterraneo, y el Baltico, y sin Gasconado;* which are the words of his letter, and have so much credit with the Prince and the States, that they take it for a thing done: and it was high time. The Prince tells me, he thinks the remises come by last ordinary to Brussels are of two millions and a half of crowns, but that more is expected.

The Danish Minister presses very much for money, ships, and men here; but I believe they will

go hard from this State; who pretend the Danes may content themselves with their new conquests, and the Spanish subsidies, towards carrying on the war. I know not whether they reckon well: for, however the last action in Schonen passed, or however it be told, I look upon it as very advantageous to the Swedes; not only by gaining their point in the relief of Malmoe, but also by being left masters of the field in that province. And though the loss may have been equal on both sides; or, perhaps, greater on the Swedes; yet I take that Crown to have much greater resources than Denmark, both in bodies of men of their own natives, and in the moneys from France; whereas Denmark will find very hard to repair the loss of their foot in this battle, without levies from Germany, which will cost more money than they can well furnish without the subsidies agreed both from this State and Spain.

I intend to get away from hence as soon as possibly I can, upon the pressing instances made me from my Lord Ambassador Jenkins, as well as from Monsieur Colbert and Beverning; but chiefly from the great embarrass that you will find fallen upon the business of the assembly, by the irregular demarches of Count Kinski, whereof I have been this day acquainted, by a copy of the joint letter that goes to you with this ordinary; which, if they proceed one pace farther, as it seems he intends, must of necessity break all communication between the Imperial and French Ambassadors, and, consequently, give a stop to the progress of any general treaty. Sir Lionel Jenkins presses me so earnestly to give him my advice, by to-morrow's pacquet, what to do in case they receive a second and more formal notification from Count Kinski of his arrival, in order to a second visit of ceremony, that I cannot avoid giving my opinion upon

it; since the case is like to happen before he can receive directions from you.

I think they are to use all endeavours possible to divert Count Kinski from this resolution: First, because it is contrary to the style hitherto used by all Ambassadors in the congress. Secondly, because our visiting the Count a second time in form will be to give him a new honour, which has not been pretended by, or given to, any other Ambassador. Thirdly, because upon this practice the French will certainly make him no visit, as receiving from him but half the honour which he will have done, not only to the Mediators, but to the Ambassadors of all the allies, by two formal notifications. Fourthly, because the Mediators have already declared to him, as well as to the French, their own opinion in the case; and if any thing at all be allowed to a Mediator, it is regulating such matters of form as these. My last reason concerns the honour of the mediation, and so must be private among us; which is, that a preference has been declaredly given to the Mediators by Count Kinski in the first notification, which, it seems, is not like to be taken care of in the second.

To gain this point of Count Kinski, it will be, perhaps, necessary to employ the offices of the Dutch Ambassadors, as well as the foregoing reasons; and, possibly, to tell him one of greater weight than all the rest; which is, that if the Ministers of Austria retard the progress of the assembly by any of these motions, contrary to the usual style and form, it will be interpreted as a new and affected delay; and the end of that will be, to drive the Dutch into private negotiations or separate treaties; whereas the only way to keep them close to a general peace were, for the Austrians to express all facility towards it that others have done, at least in the formal, and preliminary parts of it.

If by all these reasons and persuasions, Count Kinski will not be prevailed with, I think the Mediators ought to tell him plainly, that in case of a second notification, they cannot take notice of it, or make him a second visit in form, without first receiving his Majesty's orders, and so attend your positive directions, upon the account given you by this ordinary.

In case Count Kinski will be prevailed with to content himself with the first notifications and visits made him upon them; then, I suppose, the French and Swedes may be appeased upon receiving their notifications so late; since Count Kinski pretends to have yet notified none but the Mediators, and to have received visits from the rest without notifications.

For my part, I see no other way out of this wood; and if by Count Kinski's obstinacy it must come to his Majesty, I know not well what in that case can be done, but to stick close to the style already used in the assembly, where no first visits have been distinguished by *cognito* or *incognito;* since a change made by his Majesty in this practice will not only break all correspondence or visits, between the Imperialists and French, but will give an offence from his Majesty to the French, by giving a point more to the Emperor than to their King; whereas they pretend to yield only place to him, but no distinction of rank.

I thought fit to trouble you with my thoughts upon this occasion, as well as to transmit them to my colleague at Nimeguen, in regard they may possibly serve to give his Majesty some little light, before the resolution be taken in it. And I will presume to add one consideration more, upon the other embarrass already fallen out between us and the Brandenburgh Ambassadors, wherein it seems his Majesty has not yet interposed his judgment:

the allegations on either side are so blank contrary one to another, that it is difficult to determine them; though the testimony of Monsieur Courtin, Oxenstiern, and Colbert, in what they have themselves practised, or seen practised so often, seems not easily to be scrupled. But the great strength of the Brandenburgh pretension will be the late resolution of the Emperor, dated, as I remember, November 25, last past, in the practice intended thereupon in their favour by the Imperial Ambassadors at Nimeguen, and thereupon, possibly, by the Spanish too. Now this new concession of the Emperor seems on one side to weaken the Brandenburgh allegations as to former practice (in which case there would be no need of this new resolution); but, on the other side, it seems to induce other Kings to give them what the Emperor does, to whom they yield in point of place.

This only is to be considered, whether other Kings will take themselves to be obliged by the Emperor's style to German Princes; since he may have an interest in doing it, toward the decision of what remains in question between him and other Kings. For though the Emperor pretends to be in rank above other crowned heads in Christendom; yet, as I take it, the other Kings consider him only as the first of Kings, but not as of a rank above them. But if the Emperor can procure, by his example, the Electors to be treated equally in all points with the crowned heads, it will be an advantage to his pretensions, since there is certainly a difference of rank between him and his Electors. In case Spain gives it, by the Emperor's example, and from considerations of their present confederacy, both with the Emperor and Princes of Germany, the inducements will then be stronger for his Majesty to do it; and the question remaining will only be, whether his Majesty should do it

without assurance that France and Sweden will do it too? For since his Majesty has already declared the style he intended the Electors, and grounded it upon the precedents of Munster, and other late assemblies; if he should change his style, upon the example of the Emperor and Spain alone, it may seem a partiality to the opinion and practice of those two Crowns, and against those of France and Sweden; whereas his Majesty, as mediator, may be allowed not to change his own style but upon a change or consent of all the other crowned heads.

But the determination of these matters must be given us by your orders from his Majesty to us, and our parts are no other but offering the small lights we can towards his Majesty's better information in these cases.

Monsieur Colbert sends me word, that they have received their own *pleinpouvoirs*, and in such a form *que Monsieur* Beverning *avouë lui-même qu'il a tout ce qu'il demandoit:* which I take notice of, as something that has passed between them without the communication of my colleague at Nimeguen, for as much as I observe by their dispatch. And I doubt not but the delays of the allies will hasten Monsieur Beverning, one way or other, to enter the sooner and deeper into the business, as far as lies particularly between France and them.

I took notice, in the duplicate of the last letter to the Ambassadors at Nimeguen, of his Majesty's pleasure concerning Mr. Hyde, whom I have not yet seen, his arrival happening at Nimeguen several days after I left it. But I have given order for the offering him all the convenience of my house or equipage, during his stay there; and was surprised with the news, by this day's letters, of his having already left Nimeguen upon his way hither, where I am now like to see him first. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To my Lord Ambassador Jenkins.

My Lord, Hague, January 13, N. S. 1674.

I WAS sorry to find by your Lordship's yesterday, how great an embarrass Count Kinski is like to bring upon you there, by a proceeding which I take to be very contrary to all form and style used among Ambassadors, either in the present congress, or any other place. By what I can guess from the exact account given of it in your joint letter, I judge, that in case he persists to give the second notifications, in order to second visits of ceremony, it must necessarily break off all communication between him and the French Ambassadors, and thereby wholly obstruct the fair and easy progress of this assembly. Therefore, in my opinion, your Lordship ought to use all possible endeavours to divert him from this resolution: and to this purpose very many arguments will easily occur to you: as first, that it is contrary to all style; because if he intended his first interviews *incognito*, he ought either to have come himself frankly to such Ambassadors as he had a mind to see, or receive such visits as were made him in the same manner, without any notification: for any formal notification signifieth plainly that he is not *incognito*, but owneth a character of Ambassador, in right whereof such notifications are always given. Secondly, if your Lordship makes him another visit in form, you give him a double honour in respect of what you have given any other Ambassador; which is a thing they will all resent. Thirdly, if this happens, the French will certainly not visit him; because he will have given two notifications to other Ambassadors, and but one to them, which makes them plainly go less than the rest. Fourthly, it is a lessening likewise to the other Ambassadors,

who have visited him upon his first notifications; since he hath engaged them to make him a visit in form, and pretends for it to have returned them only a visit *incognito*, wherein there is no equality. Fifthly, the Mediators have already declared their opinion both to him and to the French Ambassadors; and if any thing be allowed them as Mediators, it will be certainly the liberty of directing or adjudging such points of form as these are, whenever they think fit to declare their opinion.

If these arguments will not prevail with the Count Kinski, I think you may use one more or greater weight (but as in confidence to him); which is, that these kind of paces, contrary to usual form, will be interpreted as new and affected delays; and that the effect of them will be to drive the Dutch into separate negotiations and treaties; whereas his Majesty's intentions aim wholly at a general peace. But the Dutch seem resolved not to go on with the war, unless they can *mettre la France dans son tort;* and upon this he may be brought to advise with the Dutch Ambassadors: and they, on the other side, may be persuaded to employ their offices to divert him from his present resolution. In case all these prevail not, your Lordship, I think, may plainly tell him, that you cannot make him a second visit in form upon his second notification, without first receiving his Majesty's orders, which thereupon, I suppose, you will attend, in answer to the letter that went by last post.

In case Count Kinski be content the first visits already made should pass for those of form, and thereupon will send his notifications to the French and Swedish Ambassadors; I suppose you may easily prevail with the French to receive them, and make their visits upon them before Don Pedro de Ronquillo appears; in regard Count Kinski de-

clareth, that he hath yet notified none but the Mediators; and that the ground of his not doing the same to the French before, seemed only his doubt, whether upon it they would visit him or no.

This is all I can say upon this subject, and should not have said any thing at this distance, and to your Lordship, who are so well able to judge yourself upon all these emergencies, but that you are pleased to engage me to it by your letter: and I cannot make a difficulty upon what you so earnestly desire of me, in this or any other kind; being ever, with so much esteem and truth, my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful humble servant.

To the King.

Hague, January 15, N. S. 1677.

May it please your Majesty,

I KNOW no better acknowledgments I can make your Majesty for so great an honour as I received last night by a letter from your own hand, than in the best obedience I can yield to the commands it brought me; especially that of giving your Majesty, with all speed, an account of what conclusions the Prince should fall into upon the subject of it. I have already had two audiences from his Highness upon this occasion, and discoursed over the whole thing with the best advantage I could to what your Majesty proposes to yourself, and to the Prince, with so great reason, in the course of this affair. I shall not trouble your Majesty with the particulars of these conversations, but give you, as short and as close as I can, his Highness's last answer and conclusion upon them; which is this, and to which he told me he would refer himself in the letter he intends this night to your Majesty.

His Highness says, that this being the first time your Majesty has pleased to tell him plainly the

conduct you would have him hold in the course of this affair, he is resolved to let your Majesty see how great esteem he makes of this confidence, by the most perfect compliance with what your Majesty proposes as the first step to be made in it; and by falling in with your Majesty in the concert of the rest, as far as he can possibly, whenever he shall know more of your mind: that their Ambassadors shall receive orders to give in a memorial to your Majesty in their Master's name, desiring and pressing the continuance and enforcement of your Majesty's offices towards a general peace; and chiefly upon this ground, that they apprehend the loss of Flanders without it; and that his Highness will so concert it here, that this shall be in such terms as will reach your Majesty's end, and shall be left for you to make what public use of it you think fit: that, because this cannot be prepared before the next post, his Highness will this night put into my hands a letter, signed by himself and the Pensioner, to Monsieur Van Beuninghen, giving him order to apply all his discourses in common and particular conversations to the same end, and even to receive instructions from your Majesty in what manner and terms, in what places, and to what person, chiefly to apply them. That this letter being not to be communicated so much as to the Commissioners of secret affairs here, shall be inclosed by me to your Majesty's own hands, to use as you please; to give it privately yourself, or cause it to be delivered by any other hand, and at such time as you think fit: and his Highness questions not Monsieur Van Beuninghen's governing himself in this affair entirely to your Majesty's satisfaction: that for the Ministers of their allies, he cannot answer for them, because he knows very well they have not a mind to the peace, as his Highness and this State have. That it will be hard to make

them say what they do not think of Flanders being lost without the peace; but that he knows Don Emanuel de Lyra to be so reasonable a man, that his Highness hopes to bring him to your opinion, that this conduct is fittest for their Ministers in England, and to prevail with him to write effectually to Don Bernardo upon it: and to this end the Prince told me, he would write to Don Emanuel de Lyra, that it would be absolutely necessary for him to come immediately hither; and that at his arrival he would use his utmost offices to dispose him to it.

In all these paces, his Highness thinks he goes to the utmost length your Majesty can desire; and indeed I could not think of any more to propose. But, after all, he said, he could not engage to go farther in the endeavours of effecting the peace, till he knew upon what terms your Majesty intended it; for there are some that may be supported, and others that cannot; and such as these they will venture *le tout pour le tout*, rather than agree to them. And therefore it would be necessary to know your Majesty's mind as soon as was possible.

I told his Highness I would represent this to your Majesty; but desired him to consider, that there might very well be three weeks or a month's time between your Majesty's knowing his mind first, and telling him your own upon it; or his Highness's knowing your Majesty's first, and then telling you his upon it, and expecting afterwards a return from your Majesty. His Highness made a pause at this and other arguments I used towards prevailing with him to explain himself first; especially that of my believing your Majesty would be more pleased with it, and take it as a piece of more confidence from him. And having thought a while, he answered, that to shew your Majesty how

frankly he would deal with you, and with how much confidence he desired to live in all that passed between you, he would not make a difficulty of explaining himself first, though he might have reasons to do it: that if your Majesty had a mind to make a peace, he thought you must do it upon the foot of Aix la Chapelle; which you would have the more ground for, because you had both made and warranted it: that for exchanges, he thought there should be no other proposed upon it, but only of Aeth and Charleroy for Aire and St. Omers; which two last, he thought, imported a great deal more than the others; unless France would declare, that they ended this war with a prospect of beginning another, by which they may get the rest of Flanders: that this is all need pass between France and Spain; and for what concerns the Emperor and this State, that the Emperor having taken Philipsburgh from the French, should raze it; and the French having taken Maestricht from this State, should raze that too. And so this whole war should pass *comme un tourbillon qui avoit enfin cessé, après avoir menacé beaucoup, et fait fort peu de remuëmens au monde.*

He said, for any other interests that might be involved in this war, it would not be necessary now to say any thing of them; for if thus far were agreed on, the rest must follow one way or other: that the Emperor and Spain had proposed other schemes to themselves by the war, and therefore desired the continuance of it, and would fall hardly into this; but if your Majesty did, he would, for his part, do his utmost to effect it in concert with you, he hoped with them: and, however, desired to know what you thought fit to be changed in this scheme he had drawn of it.

I observed two things to his Highness upon it: First, that by it the county of Burgundy would be

restored to Spain; with which condition your Majesty was absolutely of opinion, when I last attended you, that France would not hear of a peace; and, I thought, nothing had since passed in the war to make you believe it less. Secondly, that after so many conquests made, and so many expected by France at this time, it would be very hard to believe they could be brought to restore such acquisitions as they were possessed of, so very considerable, and without any equivalent. He answered to the first, that Burgundy could not be left in the French hands, without restitution of several other towns in Flanders; upon which so many debates would arise, as must of necessity draw the business into great lengths, and leave all to the decision of another campaign. But if your Majesty persisted in your former opinion upon that matter, there was no way but finding out what was proposed by France as the equivalent of Burgundy upon the treaty of Aix, and regulate it accordingly.

For the second, he said, I had reason, and he did not believe France would do it at this time upon other motives than those of your Majesty's interposition. But if they would not consent to these terms, or some others near them, that your Majesty should think fit to propose, the war must go on, and God Almighty must decide it: that all the allies, beside this State, desired nothing else; and the Spaniards believed, if Don John came to the head of their affairs, as he might very well be at this time, it would be a new world with them: and the truth was, that Crown had great resources, how ill use soever they made of them: that one good town well defended, or one battle well fought, would change the business: that, for his own part, he would give in, all that could be, with his Majesty, to bring about a general peace upon very moderate terms; but if France would make them

insupportable, they would venture all rather than receive them; and if they hoped the ill conduct or ill fortunes of their allies would bring this State to make a separate peace, let the Pensioner, or any else, tell me what they pleased, they should never do it whilst he was alive; and he would say one thing further to me, that he had it in his power to hinder it. That if he died, he knew very well it would be made next day: but he did not trouble himself how the world was like to go when he was gone out of it; and perhaps we were the persons most concerned to look after that.

This was the end of his Highness's discourse; and the last part of it was spoke with a good deal of emotion; with which he rose up, and I promised to represent the whole to your Majesty in the truest lines and colours I could possibly (as I have done here); and he told me, he would come to me before this post went away, and put the two letters he promised into my hands.

I most humbly beg your Majesty's pardon for a trouble which should not have been so long, if it had not been necessary; and that you will please to accept that true and hearty devotion wherewith I am, and shall be ever, Sir, your Majesty's, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, January 15, N. S. 1677.

Last night I received the honour of yours of the 29th past, with two from his Majesty, one to the States, and the other to me; the acknowledgment whereof by this inclosed, I humbly desire you will please to present to his Majesty's own hands with the first opportunity. For that to the States concerning the three Scotsmen, I intend to deliver it to-morrow, and have deferred till then the conference I intended this day upon it. The Pensioner

is of a sudden restored in a great measure to his health by this thaw, and assured me to-day, that he will be to-morrow at the States, when his Majesty's letter shall be delivered; and at the conference I will, at the same time, demand for the afternoon. The business is very hard to make him comprehend in point of justice upon the treaty, and will be hard to digest by the province of Holland, in point of interest; being one of the great things which has peopled, and thereby raised this country: I mean, the esteem in which it has passed, of being a refuge to men miserable at home, or persecuted by their own governments. But I will charge myself not to stir from hence without an answer to his Majesty upon this matter, and will not yet despair of such a one as he desires.

The great news here, but which is yet in few hands, is, what the last Spanish courier met (they say) upon the way, that Don John, at the head of most of the great nobility of Spain, was upon his way to Madrid, to desire both the Queen and the Marquis de Valanzuela, to retire from Court, and consequently to take possession of the absolute ministry there. Some say, the King himself is in it: others speak as if the Marquis were so too: but I find Don Emanuel de Lyra believes the thing, and that it will be decided in four-and-twenty hours, and one way or other give an establishment to their affairs.

Mr. Hyde came hither yesterday from Rotterdam, not knowing any thing of the orders given by his Majesty for his stay at Nimeguen. I shewed him a copy you had pleased to send me of your letter to the Ambassadors at Nimeguen, wherein was that paragraph concerned him. He seemed much surprised with it, and perplexed what to resolve, having not met it till he had overshot the place where it was intended he should receive it.

He parted this morning again for Rotterdam to meet all the letters he expected there, but will return hither to-morrow; though I know not whether with resolutions of staying here, or returning to Nimeguen, till his commission and farther orders come: but of this I presume you will have a farther account from himself.

I humbly thank you for the duplicate of your last to Nimeguen: I can pretend to no share in the approbation you please to give us; but, I am sure, must have a great deal in any faults we made while I was there; and can only say, that I am ever very glad to hear of them, and shall be more so to mend them. For the offer of our form of powers in French, it was only a first draught, and offered but for the parties approbation or amendments; and being done at the desires of the French and Dutch, it was done in the language they both used in their powers: but when we shewed it the Swedes, we told them, if it were approved, we intended to offer it in Latin.

For the offer of his Majesty's contenting himself without mention of the mediation, we were very far from making any; and the farthest we went, was to say, when all the parties desired us to leave it out, we would give them our answer upon it. For the insinuation, that his Majesty would not stand upon that circumstance, if all the parties desired it; we were moved to it by the discourses we heard of among some of the Ministers, that the difficulties then on foot in the treaty were raised by the Mediators more than the parties: but yet what was said was not till after both Swedes and Danes had told us, they would never desire that omission from us. If after this, they still were faults, I humbly beg his Majesty's pardon for my share of them, and desire your belief of my being always, Sir, your, &c.

To the King.

Hague, Jan. 19, N. S. 1677.

May it please your Majesty,

I WAS forced to give your Majesty so large a trouble by the last ordinary, that I should not have the confidence to renew it so soon, but that I think it becomes me to let your Majesty know, that, upon the closure of my last, the Prince came to me, and shewed me the letter he had writ to Monsieur Van Beuninghen, asking me, whether it would reach what your Majesty desired. I told his Highness, what indeed I thought, that it was as full as could be wished, towards the governing of his private conversation; but that your Majesty expected something that might be open too and above-board; which, I thought, could not be otherwise done than by a memorial from the Ambassador to your Majesty in his Master's name. The Prince said, that though the allies would take it ill, yet it should be done; and orders should be sent him to that purpose by the next. After this the Prince told me, he had writ to your Majesty, but not troubled you with the detail of what had passed between us, having referred your Majesty wholly to me in that point; and therefore he desired to see my letter, which he read, and said, it was not only what he said and meant, but all he could say, till he knew more of your Majesty's mind. In the mean time, that he looked upon this as the first pace of confidence between your Majesty and him: that he hoped it would go on from this time, and prove fortunate to you both. He said he should go to Soesdyke the latter end of this week, and spend most of this season between that and Dieren; at either of which places he should be in my reach to Nimeguen, upon any thing that should come to

me from your Majesty, and be necessary for him to know, and to take his measures upon with me. I believe one reason more is, that our commerce there may pass with less noise than this here has done; which has given his allies so great alarms of my being here to negotiate a separate treaty with his Highness, that he would be glad to be out of the way, and avoid their expostulations upon a matter wherein, though he does them no wrong, yet he makes them not of his confidence, as he has hitherto done; and is so hardened against those delicacies he used to have in that point, that upon the Emperor's Minister entering very deep with him yesterday upon the occasion of my being here, he contented himself only to tell him, that he had yet heard nothing of a separate peace; but such a conduct as that of the Emperor's has been these two last years, might put this State upon desperate counsels: and if Flanders must be lost, it was but what the Emperor seemed to intend; and that if he the Resident pleased, he might write to Vienna what answer he the Prince had made him.

I will add only, that as I doubt not your Majesty will have what helps his Highness can give you on this side towards effecting the peace; so I cannot imagine you should meet with any hindrances at home, after these instructions sent to Monsieur Van Beuninghen; and after these two letters I wrote since my coming hither, to the two Secretaries of State, upon the appearances of a separate peace; which, I am confident, were enough to convince all men, that your Majesty cannot endeavour any thing at this time of more safety to your own kingdoms, as well as glory abroad, than the sudden conclusion of a general one. I shall end this trouble with the sincere professions of that humble and hearty devotion wherewith I am, and shall ever be, Sir, your Majesty's, &c.

To the King.

Hague, Jan. 2, N. S. 1677.

May it please your Majesty,

THE Prince desired me this morning to beg your Majesty's excuse for those orders I mentioned to Monsieur Van Beuninghen being not yet gone, for putting in such a memorial to your Majesty as might reach the end you desired. The delay has been occasioned by returns of the Pensioner's illness, and the extraordinary sessions of the States of Holland; but his Highness assures me, it will not fail of going by next post. He desired me at the same time to tell your Majesty, that he has had reason given him to believe, France will be content to give Charleroy, Aeth, Oudenarde, and Courtray, for Aire and St. Omers: so that he has been an ill negotiator in what he last proposed; but hopes your Majesty is so much a friend to the preservation of Flanders, as to manage it to the best advantage. I promised his Highness to say what he desired me to your Majesty, and in this manner to your own hand, as he particularly desired it might be. But I must observe one thing I gathered from the Pensioner upon this subject, which his Highness did not mention: among many overtures he has entertained me with from France, both general and particular to this State, he told me in a visit to-day, that France would be willing to give those four towns for two, in case Sweden might be restored to all they had lost. I asked him what was to become of Burgundy? and he said, to return to Spain, since the proposition was the peace of Aix la Chapelle, with only that exchange; and that he had it from a good hand. I told both him, and afterwards the Prince, that I doubted it upon that point of Burgundy. The Prince is of opinion, that

if France be obstinate in not restoring Burgundy, some temper might be found in leaving it neutral by agreement. The Prince goes to-morrow to Soesdyke, and I shall return, God willing, to Nimeguen the day after; his Highness having concerted, upon any necessary communications from your Majesty, that I shall make a step thither or to Dieren, which will be done without much noise for a night or two. I have been forced, in my own justification, to give Mr. Secretary Williamson this night an account of some discourses of Monsieur Colbert, which I should not otherwise have mentioned. I hope your Majesty will think fit such matters be private as they were intended, since, at one time or other, you may make use of that disposition in him and others to enter a little further into confidences with me than with other Ministers.

I am, and shall be ever, with perfect devotion and truth, Sir, your Majesty's, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, Jan. 22, N. S. 1677.

THE unusual length of my conference with the States Deputies last Thursday left me no time to give you an account of it that post: and a visit I received to-day from the Pensioner hath left me no occasion to trouble you with the particulars of so long and warm arguments as passed on both sides upon it. I will only say, that the business of the three Scots ministers hath been the hardest piece of the negotiation that ever I yet entered upon here, both from the particular interests of the towns and province of Holland, and the general esteem they have, of Mackaird being a very quiet and pious man; but chiefly, from the firm persuasion they have, of not being obliged to it by any bare letter of his Majesty, without any sentence having passed against

them, by which they are adjudged rebels or fugitives: and, on the contrary, after a sentence of banishment against Mackaird and Brown, which, they say, is by all writers esteemed wholly to extinguish their subjection, and, consequently, his Majesty's right of declaring them rebels after they are banished, and become subjects to another state. And they say, his Majesty would have no reason to take notice of any letter from the States declaring any man a rebel, without a copy of the sentence pronounced against him to that purpose; the reciprocal whereof they expected likewise from his Majesty upon these occasions. But I found the King's honour so far engaged in this matter, by three several letters which must have been public, that I have left no sort of arguments unessayed with the Prince, the Pensioner, and Deputies both of the provinces and towns, to procure his Majesty's satisfaction, and make it pass for a thing so necessary to dispatch, that it hath taken up two long debates in the States of Holland these two days past, though their meeting was intended but for five days, and for no other business but the levies of monies necessary for the campaign; yet this morning the Pensioner came to give me hopes that it might be effected this very day, and at least the assurance, that he would use his utmost endeavours in it; and that the dispatch should be made by a letter from the States to his Majesty, which should be put into my hands to go by this very ordinary; so that I will reckon upon it as a thing done, unless I see myself forced to close this pacquet without it. I inclose the States resolution about the ship Thomas and John, recommended by his Majesty's letter, with the assurance of the like dealing on his Majesty's side in the like cases. For the merchant-adventurers of Dort, not only the Pensioner, but all the Deputies, have renewed the former assu-

rances given me of its receiving a final answer next ordinary session of the States of Holland, which is to be in February. And for the ships taken upon pretence of trading from enemy's to enemy's port, the States have, upon my instances, written a second letter to the Admiralty of Zealand, to require their speedy answer; upon which the Deputies promised their endeavours to see justice done in that matter.

The Prince goeth early to-morrow morning to Soesdyke, where he intends to pass as much of this season as the affairs here will give him leave: and in case I receive the satisfaction and letter for his Majesty I expect this night, upon the affair of the three Scotsmen, I shall begin my journey towards Nimeguen, either to-morrow morning or the day after; finding nothing more that requires my presence here, and being much pressed to my return. In the mean time, having newly received yours of the 5th, I find a paragraph in it which I think it will be necessary to answer by this dispatch, though I have not my letters here, to which I might have some occasion to refer.

You are pleased to say upon the subject of a separate peace, that his Majesty puts much weight upon what I said in mine of the 5th, of Monsieur Colbert's many and particular discourses to me, as well as the Mareschal d'Estrades, of their desires to enter into this matter of separate negotiations and measures with the Prince and this State; which are the words of my letter: and that you being called upon in the point, could not find any thing mentioned till now; or, at least, not so as that I had found cause to make that important judgment I seemed, in mine of the 5th, to have made upon it; which was, that I suppose there could occur no difficulty on that side, whenever it grows full ripe on the part of Holland.

I will confess, in the first place, that if I never had met with the least motive for this supposition from any discourses of the French Ambassadors, yet I should have been of the same opinion; and never yet met with any man that doubted it; since the consequences of a separate peace between France and Holland must be the loss of Flanders, and the dependence of this State upon France; which are too great interests ever to be neglected by so wise a Crown. But I shall now tell you what farther reasons I had to believe it, from the discourses I mentioned of the French Ambassadors, since you are pleased to put me upon it; and that which might before have passed for vanity to trouble you with, is now grown necessary for my own justification in what I writ to you upon this subject.

You may please to remember what I writ to you upon my first particular visits with those two Ambassadors, after my arrival at Nimeguen; the overtures, and, indeed, instances they made me apart, of entering into particular intelligences and negotiations with me, separately from my colleagues; and in order to close any particular measures that might be entered into between them and the Prince of Orange, by my intervention. You acknowledged my private letter to you upon that subject; and said, you had shewed it his Majesty, but gave me no sort of reflection upon it, either from his Majesty or yourself, by which I might know whether it was fit for me or no, to entertain or encourage any such commerce, distinct from my colleagues: and thereupon I took up the resolution to avoid it, and to continue the answers I had first made upon such overtures, of my having nothing at all, distinct from my colleagues, either in his Majesty's instructions, or (as they call it) his secret; or any thing that would bear me out in any separate negotiations with the Prince; or any other

steps than those of a general mediator. Notwithstanding all this, Monsieur Colbert continued very particular applications to me of this kind, but with instances much more pressing, about the time of the Prince's return from the campaign; and especially in two very long and designed conversations, which he grounded upon letters he had received to that purpose from the King his Master. His discourses began with his most Christian Majesty's esteem of my being able to contribute more than any man to the peace; since it depended wholly upon the Prince of Orange, and I had more acquaintance, and (as he would have it) interest with his Highness, than any other Minister. That nothing could be done of so much service to the Prince, as inducing him to enter into particular negotiations with the King his Master. That if they two could agree, the rest of the parties must fall into the measures they would take: the kindness the most Christian King ever had for the Prince's family, and esteem for his person; the easiness he would shew in all that concerned particularly the interests of his Highness and this State. And thereupon he pressed me, by all possible arguments, to undertake the bringing about this intelligence between his Master and the Prince. When I excused myself, upon our instructions being common to us all three, and impowering us only to offices of a general mediation, he told me, nothing else could make a general peace; and that it had never been made at Munster, but for the Duke of Bavaria's acting in the whole matter, by concert with France, under-hand, by which he received all the advantages he could propose to himself: and the Prince of Orange ought to play the same game in this present treaty, and would certainly meet with the same success. Nor was it once, or twice, or thrice only, that I have been entertained with these discourses;

nor from themselves alone, but from some of my friends too upon their suggestions; which was enough to give me such a supposition as you mention, that there could be no difficulty on that side, if the thing should once grow to be ripe on this. However, I suffered them to pass as matters only of particular conversation, and not worth troubling you with; since it was like to have no effect, by my excusing myself always from entering into any such intelligences, without his Majesty's express command; and by my finding no appearances of the Prince of Orange giving into any such measures, though other ways have been made use of to give him the impressions, by a continual correspondence which Monsieur d'Estrades holds with persons here to that purpose. And I suppose you have reason to think I was not deceived; both by what I told you the Prince said to me upon the subject of a separate peace, the day after that long discourse upon it with the Pensioner; and likewise by what his Highness said to me since, that it should never be while he lived; and that it was in his power to hinder it; which I then gave his Majesty an account of. And yet I am of opinion, that if, beyond all expectation, the last remises of money had not come from Spain; and that the Mediterranean as well as Baltic fleets had come to be paid off, before any money had been paid by Spain to the Admiralties here; the Prince would have found difficulties to carry on the war without endangering a mutiny at Amsterdam. On the other side, I am very well persuaded to have given you, in mine of the 5th, the true scheme of what will be the procedure of this State in the treaty of Nimeguen: which is, to enter into the matter as soon as they can, to adjust the points that are particular between France and them; and after the proposal of satisfaction to their allies, to leave the management of that head to the allies

themselves; and so appear, as to their own part, to be *hors d'affaires*, and thereby lie ready to take such measures as time and conjectures shall suggest to them. But as the Prince's firmness seems to secure this point while he lives; at least, if he be right in the calculation of his own power; so I am of his Highness's opinion, that nothing can prevent it, if any thing should happen to his person. And that, on the other side, by all the dispositions I discover here, both in the Prince and States, his Majesty hath yet never found a more favourable conjuncture towards the effecting what he hath so long desired, and employed so much of his care in, as the happy mediation of a general peace; wherein I shall endeavour, at my return to Nimeguen, to pursue his Majesty's intentions, both upon our first instructions, and those we continually receive from your hands, by his Majesty's command. I am ever, Sir, your, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord, Arnheim, Jan. 25, N. S. 1677.

I HAD only leisure, in my last, to acknowledge the honour of two I had then received from your Lordship, but shall now answer the particulars of them; and give you as much light, and as little trouble by it, as I can. The offer his Majesty made the Prince, concerning an alliance after the peace, was received by his Highness with all the satisfaction that could be; and he said immediately upon it, that he would send it to the Pensioner, to be communicated to some of the States, who, he was sure, would be as glad of it as he; and would take it as a sign of his Majesty's concerning himself not only in his Highness, but in the safety of this country: and that, for the condition his Majesty required, of no alliances in prejudice of it, he supposed his Majesty

did not mean those they were already engaged in, and, he was sure, they would enter into no new ones, but in concert with his Majesty; in case he would bring them out of this war; upon which he desired me to acquaint him with his Majesty's thoughts. Thus far I had reason to believe the advance made by his Majesty would not fail of having all the effects, your Lordship tells me, you then proposed to yourselves: but when I acquainted his Highness with the substance of Mr. Secretary Williamson's letter, after casting up distinctly what it amounted to, he said, he would die rather than make such a peace: and afterwards, that he would rather charge a thousand men with a hundred, though he were sure to die in the action; and several such desperate things as these. Afterwards he talked a great deal in colder blood; how lost he should be in honour to his allies, and to all the world, by such a peace as this; and that the pressing them to it would have the same effect as if he absolutely broke from them by a separate peace. I told him that whilst he considered his own honour on one side, his Majesty must consider his on the other, if he should now make such propositions to France as his Highness desired, after having been their ally in the war, and being now a mediator. The Prince answered me, that when I spoke of his Majesty's honour, I could mean it only in the esteem of France; for he believed every body else would think it more honour in the King to make a reasonable peace, than to suffer Flanders to be lost; and thereupon he fell into a great deal of discourse, what the effects of that would be; and whenever it was, that this State must of necessity fall into an absolute dependence upon France, and could never think of defending itself by any alliance with England: that this country was not made to be the stage of a long war, by being wholly a place

of trade, which would all die when the country came into that condition: and that, besides, being of small extent, the taking of one or two towns by France would bring them into the heart of all their provinces. I told his Highness, All that was true; but yet I knew him so well, as to believe he would venture it, rather than see this State grow a province to France, as must follow that which he called falling into a dependence upon them; and that I knew he was not made to serve. He said, perhaps I was in the right; and yet, he believed, he should do some desperate thing or other, rather than come to it; but that would do us no good; and either with him, or without him, the thing must come to that issue if Flanders were once lost. I told him, I believed the King was as unwilling to see that, as his Highness; but asked, how his Majesty could propose such a peace to France as he desired, after such a war as the allies had made for these two last campaigns, and with such appearances as were of the next, even in his own opinion, and by the Pensioner's discourses to me upon that subject? The Prince said very plainly, that I had reason; and that they could not hope for such from France, as things now stood, unless either his Majesty's kindness to him, or the interest of his own kingdom, would put him upon letting France know that he desired it; and he was sure, if that were done they would come to easier terms than he (the Prince) had already proposed. If the King would not make the peace, he knew no remedy, but must try how the Emperor would make the war; and if he would do it as the State had proposed to him, and as they had it in their hands at Vienna to do if they pleased; he might yet hope for a peace that way, since he could not do it this: that for his own part, he must go on, since he was in; *et quand on est à la grande messe on y est;* meaning, I suppose,

one must stay till it was done, for there was no getting out.

I asked him, what I should say about his Majesty's offer of alliance? He said, he could make no answer till he had spoken with the Pensioner and the Commissioners of secret affairs; but he would say something of it in his letter to the King: but that was not the business now; it would be very well if the war were ended; and should leave this State in a condition to be defended: but they had now a disease upon them that they were dying of, and we told them what they should do when they were recovered. Thus he ended the discourse; and, to say the truth, the most unsatisfied that ever I saw him in my life. And I have given your Lordship all the particulars of this conversation, which I had omitted in the account I gave Mr. Secretary Williamson; contenting myself to give him the gross of it; being by his example induced to write a good deal in cypher, when I had none with me that I thought fit to use in a business of this moment: and my own eyes will not go through with it; and therefore I am apt to trust to a conveyance, which, in near six years embassy in this country, never yet failed me once.

Your Lordship does me too great honour in desiring my opinion concerning the terms of peace, as they now have passed between his Majesty and the Prince, wherein I cannot presume to mix any sense of my own. The Prince told me absolutely, he had gone as low as he could, in his first scheme I sent from the Hague: and by what his Majesty was pleased to discourse to me, with great freedom, when I was last in England, I am not apt to believe he will go much farther, than what he has already signified by Mr. Secretary Williamson's letter: so that I do not see any appearance of their falling into a concert upon this matter; which I am

sorry for, upon particular reasons between his Majesty and the Prince, and upon general ones of the war, and consequences of it. For I am apt to believe Flanders in danger of being lost this summer, or in such a way to it, as not afterwards to be saved: and I doubt the Prince and Pensioner tell us the truth of this State falling into an absolute dependence upon France whenever that happens; because I remember Monsieur de Witt told me the same thing very often, after our alliances with this State for the defence of it in 1668. And I know about three months before those were made, when the Dutch despaired of our entering into the defence of Flanders after the peace of Breda, they had so perfectly agreed the terms between them of dividing Flanders, that it was hindered only by the single dissent of the province of Utrecht. And the Pensioner in his discourses at the Hague put me in mind of it, by saying, amongst other things they could have by a separate peace, that I could not tell whether they might not have Antwerp and Ostend, which, I remember, were part of the conditions in Monsieur de Witt's scheme. Upon the whole, considering how both his Majesty and the Prince stand tied in different points of honour upon this matter, I know nothing like to salve all, unless upon this resolution in Spain, that Court should be content to break their marriage with the Emperor's daughter, and endeavour it with Mademoiselle the Duke of Orleans' daughter; and France, in consideration of that marriage, should be content to part with some towns in Flanders, more than they would do upon a peace without a match; since this way it would be done, at least, with honour. I know not whether, in such an affair, his Majesty might not use both his last offices in France, and a personal interest that he has (as I take it) in Don John.

This, for aught I see, can be the only expedient

between the two great difficulties in the peace; which are, that the affairs of Spain are so ill in Flanders, that the allies cannot think fit to make a peace upon the present foot, or any thing near it; and, on the other side, those of France are in so good, that it cannot be expected they should easily be prevailed with to restore much by a peace, when they are in so fair appearances of gaining still more by a war, at least in Flanders and Sicily.

If ever a peace should be made, and leave Flanders in a condition of being defended, and the Prince alive; I do not think there can be any difficulty in taking those measures with this State which his Majesty has offered, and in the manner he shall desire. As for that circumstance your Lordship mentions for me to endeavour the obtaining, especially having been offered before on this side; I take it to be a thing that must be established upon private and particular confidence between the King and the Prince, and not by any public or private treaties, considering the constitutions of this government. And this I remember to have said to his Majesty upon it, and he was pleased to be of the same mind.

Your Lordship will find in both our common letters of last post and this, an embarrass fallen out between us and the Count Kinski, about the communication of his powers to the French, before that of the French to him. We have made the best excuses we could; but to the thing itself, the truth is, it will not bear it; though he may, on the other side, be too rigid in the offence he takes, and satisfaction he expects. But there was a fault made, and it neither was the first, nor will it be the last; and it was forty to one a greater had not been made next day; and such as, I believe, would have broken all commerce between us and some of the Ambassadors here. I am, my Lord, your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Arnheim, Jan. 28, N.S. 1677.

My last was of the 22d from the Hague. The next day being Saturday, I visited the Pensioner, upon my resolution of going out of town so soon as my letters then due should arrive, the Prince being gone to Soesdyke that morning. I told the Pensioner the orders his Majesty had given us at Nimeguen, to take off, upon occasion, the impression made there among the allies, of his Majesty's favouring a separate peace; and asked him, whether he thought it of service to the Prince for me to say something of the same kind at the Hague, before I left it; the jealousy having been as great among the Ministers there, as at Nimeguen? He told me it was not worth my while, and that he was content they should believe it, since it was in their allies to help it, or not, as they pleased; that he had the day before told the Emperor's Minister, in plain terms, that if the conduct at Vienna continues what it had hitherto been; nay, if it did not fall absolutely into the measures the State insisted on, by the 13th of next month, this State would be forced to make a separate peace, and he was content the Emperor should know it. I told him it might be a fit language to hold to the Emperor's Minister, but that I knew the Prince too well to believe it; that he had told me, it should be never while he lived, and that he had it in his power to hinder it. The Pensioner replied, that he should come to it with as much regret as the Prince himself; but that his Highness might be forced to it by the ill conduct of his allies; and if not by that, by mutinies of the people here upon ill successes of this next campaign; that this late revolution in Spain had shewed what could be brought about by the violent hu-

mour of a people; and that his Highness knew this country too well, to go too far against it: that, in short, it would depend upon the Emperor and Spain; for if they took right and vigorous measures, they might yet hope for a good campaign; if they followed such as they had hitherto used, this State would be forced to a separate peace, unless a general one could be made before the action of this year began. This is all I remember material in his discourses; besides valuing what he had carried for his Majesty's satisfaction both in the States of Holland and States General, so much against the humour of both, in the business of the Scots ministers, for whose departures within the limited time, he said, orders had been already given.

On Sunday morning I received yours of January 9th, with the inclosed pacquet from his Majesty; upon which I immediately began my journey towards Soesdyke, where I arrived on Monday afternoon; but met there only a letter from the Prince, inviting me to come down to Dieren; his Highness having gone out that morning a hunting, with intention to lie there that night. On Tuesday night I came to Arnheim, and yesterday morning went to Dieren, where I found the Prince, and delivered both his Majesty's letters. Upon reading the first, he seemed extremely pleased, and said, it was all the assurance that could be given, and that he would send it that afternoon to the Pensioner, to be communicated to the committee of secret affairs, to whom, he was confident, it would be the welcomest thing that could be; and yet he would give them notice of the secrecy required in it. I told his Highness, I hoped he observed the condition specified, of making no alliances in prejudice of this. He answered, that his Majesty could not mean those they had already: and for any new ones, he would undertake it, while his Majesty continued

in this mind. After this he read the second letter, and said, it was only of credence to me in what I should say of his Majesty's mind about the conditions of the peace. I discoursed the whole over in the same manner and order, and, as near as I could, in the same terms wherein I was instructed; valuing the whole as such a scheme his Majesty thought possible to be obtained of France, rather than such as he thought to be wished, if the matter were whole, and the affairs of the allies in a better posture. I observed the Prince of Orange change countenance when I named Cambray, yet he heard me go through the whole scheme; and when he had done, he said, that dinner stayed, and that he would talk of it after he had dined: so we went up; but as he was near the door, he turned and said, though we should talk more of it after dinner, yet he could say, in few words, all that was to be said to it; which was, that he must rather die than make such a peace.

After dinner we fell again into the discourse. He asked me distinctly the particulars, and cast them up several ways what they would amount to, both as to the present state of things, and that upon which the war begun: as, that Spain must by it part with Burgundy, Cambray, Aire, and St. Omers, instead of the five towns mentioned by his Majesty. He said, I had spoiled his dinner; that he had been thinking it over while he should have eat; but, upon the whole, was of the same opinion he told me at first upon it; and that all must be ventured since he was in, and there was no other way out. I told him, I supposed he would give his Majesty his own thoughts upon it; but hoped he would think it over a little more, and in all its circumstances, before he did it: he replied, that he would write that very night to the King, and send me his letter next morning, so as it might go by this post; but that

to save his Majesty trouble, he would refer him to me for particulars, and only touch some points in general. He then desired me to let his Majesty know, that he had been very plain in what he had told me upon this matter of his own thoughts, when he writ last to the King: that he had gone as low as he thought he could, with any regard to his allies, or the safety of this country: that he doubted whether Spain would ever have been brought to it: but if his Majesty would have fallen in, he would have used his utmost endeavours: but for this, he was certain they would not, though they were sure to lose all Flanders by the war; and that he would never propose it to them: that if Holland should make the peace upon these conditions, it would be the same thing as to make it separate, and would have the same effects, by losing wholly their allies, and thereby casting their dependence absolutely upon France: for if Spain were left in this state, Flanders could be defended neither by Holland, nor by England itself, whenever France should think fit to invade it: that if Flanders were once lost, Holland could not possibly be defended by England against France; and they would be forced to take their measures with them, rather than be made the stage of the war: that hereby, what his Majesty was pleased to offer in his first letter, would come to have no effect; and that depended upon the issue of the war, whether Holland would be left capable of being defended, or deserving the honour of such an alliance with his Majesty. He concluded, that what he said at first, was all that could be said from hence: that if his Majesty proceeded farther in this matter, it must be with France: and thereupon repeated what he had said several times before, that if his Majesty, either upon kindness to him (the Prince), or consideration of what his own Crowns might be concerned in this affair, would help him

out of this war by a general peace, upon any reasonable terms; there were no measures his Majesty should desire, which he would not fall into with all the readiness and satisfaction that could be: if his Majesty would not concern himself so far in it, he must leave it to God Almighty to decide it as he pleased. I desired the Prince to think again, before he writ to his Majesty: but he said, he would certainly write to-night; and that all he could think of any business, was thought in an hour's time; and therefore he desired me to write this as his answer: which, that I might not mistake, I repeated over as I apprehended it, and his Highness said, it was right; and I have kept close to it in what I have written; which is all I shall, or indeed can, trouble you with upon this subject. And, I think, his Majesty has before him, from my several dispatches since I left Nimeguen, the perfect and clear state of all matters and dispositions as they play here, which yet may alter by the accidents that the spring or summer shall bring forth; but I believe not till then. Upon the closure of this, I intend for Nimeguen, and there fall into the footsteps I left; and hope to recover my health, which has suffered a good deal by this journey, and which I shall always reserve for the occasions of his Majesty's service. I am ever, Sir, your, &c.

To the Prince of Orange.

Nimeguen, Feb. 6, N.S. 1677.

May it please your Highness,

I RECEIVED a letter from Mr. Secretary Williamson by his Majesty's command, in answer to the account I gave him of your Highness's discourses to me at Dieren, upon the subject of his Majesty's last letter to your Highness.

I find the King apprehends by the way and man-

ner of your Highness's answer (in return to what I discoursed to you there, as his Majesty's thoughts in confidence between you, about the conditions of a peace), that what his Majesty had offered upon that subject, had not been rightly understood by your Highness, or by me: because, first, the thing is not meant to be any proposition that the King would make (which his Majesty thinks is not in his part, nor has he any authority to do it), but merely a confidence between him and your Highness, in return of what you were pleased to ask of his Majesty, by your letter of the 15th past; upon which the King gave his thoughts, framed and applied particularly to what your Highness had represented of yours as to the main conditions of a peace.

Next, his Majesty observes, that the change of Cambray was not a direct part of the principal scheme there offered; but is added, in the second place, as what his Majesty proposes were to be wished, in his opinion, for the making, as it were, a double frontier to Brussels, if it could be obtained from France. And farther, his Majesty observes, there were six towns proposed to be restored to Spain upon that exchange; so as his Majesty is of opinion, that what he has proposed, if it could be got, would be better for Flanders (which is the great thing the King thinks he ought to have in his care), than what even your Highness proposes. And therefore his Majesty desires you would think a little farther of the thing, and not let it fall so very flat as you seemed to do by your last answer, without trying what it can be beaten out to: for things of this kind cannot be expected to have their perfection upon the first essay; but must be wrought upon with patience and temper. And so his Majesty desires your Highness will do in this, and let him know your farther mind upon it; which his Majesty desires in the point, for the great care he

is in, to have this matter of Flanders secured before it be too late.

But if, after all, your Highness still continues of your own mind, and that you so desire it, his Majesty will very readily hand forward, in the best manner he can, this or any other scheme your Highness shall think fit to have him hand towards France, and give your Highness the best account he can of the success it hath. But his Majesty cannot but think strange, the thing having been taken up in confidence between him and your Highness, and so resolved to be handled between you, should thus be wholly let fall by your Highness.

This being what I have order to write to your Highness upon this subject, from his Majesty, I shall not presume to increase your trouble any farther, than by the professions of that passion and truth, wherewith I am ever your Highness's most faithful and most obedient servant.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Soesdyke, Feb. 26, N. S. 1677.

On Friday last I received a letter by an express from the Prince, by which he desired me to meet him at this place on Sunday, as I accordingly did; and had last night a long conversation with his Highness upon the subject of my letter to him; which, as you will have observed by the copy I sent you, was a perfect extract of what you were pleased to write to me by his Majesty's command of the 30th past. I repeated to him again his Majesty's apprehension of his Highness having mistaken the thing as it was offered by his Majesty; in regard that Cambray was not made a direct part of the principal scheme; but added only as the King's opinion, for making a sort of a double frontier to Brussels, if it could be obtained from France:

and also, that by this scheme there would be six towns restored to Spain; whereas his Highness had reckoned there would be but five.

The Prince replied, he understood there would be but five of those that were given to France by the peace of Aix; and that you had given *un autre tour à cette affaire, mais que cela ne change pas la chose.* But that the difference was plain between his Majesty's thoughts and his: for his Majesty intended they should treat *sur le pied de ce que la France possedoit à present, et que les échanges se feroient là-dessus;* whereas his (the Prince's) meaning was, that they should treat upon the foot of Aix la Chapelle, and that the exchanges should be made upon that.

I told him, his Majesty desired, however, that he would think a little farther of it, and not let it fall so suddenly; since his Majesty's design was the securing of Flanders before it were too late: and that, however, if his Highness should continue of the same mind, the King would be willing to hand over to France any scheme the Prince should think fit, and give him the best account he could of it.

The Prince replied, that he had considered enough of it; but did not well know what he could say more upon it at this time: that when he had first spoke to me of it at the Hague, he was not only very desirous of a peace, but of opinion that it might have been compassed this winter, and thought it was fitter for him to address himself to his Majesty upon it, than go any other way; both because he believed his Majesty desired the peace, and was also concerned that Flanders should not be lost: that he had made *ce pas d'avance*, in telling the King his thoughts upon the terms; and had some reason to hope that France might have been contented with them, if his Majesty had fallen into the same mind: that he was very sorry the King's

thoughts had been so different from his, and such as he is sure he cannot agree to, if he be a man of honour; considering how he stands engaged to his allies: that he is not at all confident he could have brought them to what he had proposed; but should, however, have endeavoured it; and whenever his Majesty's thoughts came nearer his, that he shall be still glad to know them: but he now looked upon the campaign as begun, and believed, at the very time we talked, the guns were playing before Valenciennes, and that the success of the campaign would every day change the pretensions of the parties in point of the peace: that, for his own part, he now saw no hopes of it; but expected a very long war, unless Flanders should be wholly lost; and, in that case, the States must make the best terms they could: but he confessed he was of the Spaniards mind, that it was better to lose Flanders by a war than by a peace: that he believed Valenciennes would be taken, and perhaps St. Omers too; and the more towns were taken, the more difficult the peace would be, since there could be found no equivalent for them upon a treaty: that he expected a very ill beginning of the campaign, and to make an ill figure in it himself; at least till the Germans took the field: but he was in, and must go through with it; and the best was, that few campaigns end as they begin: that he gave his Majesty thanks for his offer of handing any proposition from him to France; but that was never his meaning: for if it had, he could easily have found a directer way: but his intention was to enter into a confidence with his Majesty alone upon that subject; and to owe a peace to him, if they had agreed upon the terms. But if any thing be proposed to France otherwise than as his Majesty's own thoughts, it must be from the alliance, and not particularly from him.

I asked his Highness, whether he would not write to the King upon this subject; but he excused it upon his having so many other dispatches last night upon his hands, and his going so early this morning to the Hague: upon which he desired me to let his Majesty know all we had been able to say upon it: I repeated it to him, as near as I could to what he had said; and upon his approving of it, immediately set it down in writing, according to what I have transmitted now to you.

His Highness went this morning by five o'clock towards the Hague, and talks of going from thence in eight or ten days. I have stayed here till this afternoon upon the dispatch of my letters, that I might not lose this post; but am now returning towards Nimeguen; and shall not lengthen this trouble beyond the assurances of my being ever, Sir, your, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord, Nimeguen, March 26, N. S. 1677.

I WERE not excusable to offer your Lordship many troubles of this kind, at a time I know you have so many of another: yet having lately received an intimation from my son, of your Lordship's desire to know if I had lately heard of any project offered by the French to the Prince of Orange towards a peace; I thought it became me to tell your Lordship myself, that since the account I gave Mr. Secretary Williamson of what passed at my last interview with his Highness at Soesdyke, I have not heard of any thing of that kind, farther than the jealousies of Don Pedro de Ronquillo, about some private negotiations between them upon the articles of the marine treaty, which he the more apprehends by the delays of the Dutch Ambassadors to enter into that matter here; as they pretended to

do within few days after the exchange of the pretensions between the parties. If there be any thing of that kind on foot, I believe it is between the Mareschal d'Estrades and the Pensioner, by the intervention of one Pesser (as I remember his name is), who was Pensioner of the town of Maestricht when the French took it; and who has kept up a correspondence of letters with the Mareschal ever since his return into Holland.

The Pensioner had formerly shewed me several of those letters in general terms, about the advantages the State might find in a peace with France. And when I was last at the Hague, he told me, he newly received two with very particular overtures. I would fain have seen them; but he excused it, upon knowing that I was bound to give an account of them to Court; and suspecting that no other use would be made of them there, but communicating all to France, which would lose the Pensioner's credit upon such occasions.

On the other side, Monsieur Colbert and d'Avaux have told me, that the reason of their Master's sending Monsieur d'Estrades hither instead of the Duke de Vitry (who was in the first commission) was, the possession he had given the Ministers in France of the great correspondences he had in Holland. Upon which point, though I know he is very pretending, yet I do not think it goes farther than what I have mentioned, and had not reached any thing particular with the Prince when I saw him last.

Besides, I left his Highness fully resolved upon the prosecution of the war this campaign, without more thoughts of the peace, after that transaction with his Majesty had failed: and I hear Don John has not only performed with him in what payments were due to the Admiralty at Amsterdam, but in an advance of 50,000 crowns, and a fund for the rest

of his Highness's personal debts from Spain, and likewise had established a course that will not fail, for the transmitting two hundred thousand crowns a month for the affairs of Flanders and payment of the allies. So that I do not well see what can prevent the course of this campaign, unless the Emperor should fail in what he assured the Prince of Orange, concerning the motions and conduct of the German armies, either by the uncertainty of the counsels of Vienna, between the differing factions of the Duke of Lorrain and Montecuculi in that Court; or by the faultering of some of the Princes of Germany in the alliance, which has been of late suspected of the Dukes of Lunenburg. In these cases, or any other that shall hinder the German armies from drawing off the French forces from Flanders into Germany, it will not be in the power of the Prince of Orange and the Spaniards to save the rest of Flanders this summer; and what measures that will draw on, of force, between his Highness and France, I cannot tell. But otherwise, if the Germans perform what they have promised their allies, it may be a warm summer on that side; and the poor remainder of Flanders, after the loss of St. Omers and Cambray (which the French Ambassadors here assure themselves of) may be saved by diversion; for otherwise it never can.

Thus I believe that affair plays at present. In the mean time I must confess to your Lordship, I was troubled to find the Prince go into the field so ill satisfied with that scheme of peace which his Majesty, by Mr. Secretary Williamson's letter, ordered me to communicate to him: and the more, because some words he let fall in the heat of discourse, made me doubt, if he should have a mind hereafter to make any overtures to France, he might do it by some other way than by his Ma-

jesty. For as to the thing itself, he thought what the King proposed was the utmost that France would have asked. Nay, he said, he had reason to believe, when he spoke to me first, that France would have accepted even what his Highness mentioned, if his Majesty would but have proposed it as his own opinion: and he wondered his Majesty would not make that pace, and, at least, send his Highness the answer of France upon it. Then, for the manner, he was as much unsatisfied, as with the matter of it. He said, Mr. Secretary Williamson thought he could make him mistake the thing, by giving it *un autre tour;* and that he could satisfy him with *la crême foitée:* and asked, why such dealing with so plain a man as he (the Prince) was? And said, that if he had thought *qu'on auroit pris l'affaire de cet air là,* he would never have troubled them with it in England, and could have found a nearer way to France.

I said what I could to satisfy him: but he has a way of falling downright into the bottom of a business, and is to be dealt with no other way that ever I could find; and upon this occasion said a great deal very sharply of some of the King's Ministers dealing artificially with him, and believing they could talk him into any thing; which, he said, was not a way to do business, and only shewed the mean opinion they had of him, that they thought was to be dealt with by such methods as those. I am ever, my Lord, your, &c.

To Mr. Hyde.

Sir, Nimeguen, May 21, N. S. 1677.

I AM to acknowledge the favour of one from you of the 8th, and the testimonies it gave me of the continuance of your kindness to me, and remembrance of our conversation here, which, I question

not, will begin again where it ended, at what time or in what place soever it happens to be renewed. Since you tell me, you know no more of your return hither than I find by your letter, I will enter no farther upon a discourse you seem resolved to let fall, but attend the effect of those good words you give me, about employing me in your service here, when you begin to look this way. I suppose this day will for the present have turned your thoughts upon another scene, and by the motions whereof they have either hope or fear that the measures of this will be influenced.

For my part, I am so much a stranger to the counsels in England, that I cannot pretend to give myself the least account of them upon this occasion, and much less to other men that are very inquisitive after them; and am very well content to be so; for, you know, all my politics are at an end with that of my late negotiation at the Hague: and I pretend no more than to do a plain duty while I am in these employments, and pass a private easy life after this is ended; and, instead of care to mend the world, busy my thoughts no farther than with that of mending myself. All we wish is, that we might at one time or other lose the reproach I told you, of *fluctuation perpetuelle*, and resolve for good and all what ends and points are fittest for us to pursue, and then bend our endeavours in steady courses to bring them about; and when one way fails, try another, as we have good examples. And I think in politics, as well as morals, it is a good question of one of your friends and mine, though our colleague's enemy;

Est aliquid quo tendis, et in quod dirigis arcum;
An passim sequeris corvos?

And there I leave all these kind of thoughts, and wish you happy success in this session of Parlia-

ment you are entering, and the good fortunes and entertainments you propose to yourself at Court, or any where, and to myself many occasions of expressing how much I am your most faithful and most humble servant.

To my Lord Bishop of Rochester.

My Lord, Nimeguen, May 21, N. S. 1677.

I AM unacquainted with thanks or praises, having so little deserved any, that I must judge of them rather by the report of others, than by any experience of my own. But if by either, I understand any thing of them, all the charm or value they have, arises from the esteem a man has of the person that gives them, or the belief in some measure of his own deserving them. The first of these circumstances gave so great an advantage to those I had lately the honour of receiving from your Lordship in a letter delivered me by Mr. Dolben, that the want of the other was but necessary to allay the vanity they might otherwise have given me. But where a man can find no ground to flatter himself upon the thanks he receives, he begins to consider whether they are praise or reproach: and so, I am sure, I have reason to do in the acknowledgments your Lordship is pleased to make me of any favours to your son, who has never yet been so kind to me, as to give me the least occasion of obliging him. I confess, I should have been glad to meet with any, though I do not remember so much as ever to have told him so; but if he has guessed it from my countenance or conversation, it is a testimony of his observing much, and judging well; which are qualities I have thought him guilty of, among those others that allow me to do him no favour but justice only in esteeming him. It is his fortune to have been before-hand with me,

by giving your Lordship an occasion to take notice of me, and thereby furnishing me with a pretence of entering into your service; which gives him a new title to any I can do him, and your Lordship a very just one to employ me upon all occasions.

Notwithstanding your Lordship's favourable opinion, I will assure you, it is well for me that our work here requires a little skill, and that we have no more but forms to deal with in this congress, while the treaty is truly in the field, where the conditions of it are yet to be determined. *Fata viam invenient;* which is all I can say of it; nor shall I increase your Lordship's present trouble, beyond the professions of my being, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord, Nimeguen, June 25, N. S. 1677.

If I pretended to make your Lordship the acknowledgments I owe for the honour and kindness of your last letter, this, I am sure, would be made up of nothing else: and therefore, when I have assured your Lordship that no man could be more obliged than I was by it, nor more sensible than I was upon it; I shall tell you, without more circumstance, what my thoughts have amounted to, upon the consideration of that proposal you are pleased to make me from the King. His Majesty has always been so gracious to me, but so much more particularly in the opinion of my being capable of serving him in that station your Lordship mentions, that if I were worth that sum, or a greater than what, it seems, Mr. Secretary Coventry expects, I would the readiest in the world lay it down, either upon this occasion or any other, or upon none at all besides the least signification of his Majesty's pleasure. But in the condition of

my fortune, I will asure your Lordship, it were as easy for me to coin it, as to find it any other ways; my father living still, and keeping the whole estate of the family: and the best husbandry in such employments as mine have been reaching no farther than to bring the year about, unless, upon the change of them, some presents attend it. But if either it should arrive that I should outlive my father, who is very infirm; or that this employment should end with the presents usual to mediators; I shall leave it wholly to his Majesty to command me how to dispose of any thing I shall thereby possess. And I am of opinion, upon the general prospect I have into the affairs of Christendom, from my station here, that I shall easily see to an end of this employment, as soon as this campaign is done; and that within three months after, we shall either fall into the war, or shall see a peace of one sort or other.

In either of these cases my figure here determines, and shall do so in Holland too, if his Majesty gives me leave; and the presents of this last will bring something into my purse, though the other should fail, and go a little way towards what your Lordship proposes. And it is possible, that in the mean while I may be a little necessary to his Majesty's honour in this very post, where it happens unfortunately, that though the wise paces a Minister makes may never be worth taking notice of, yet he lies every day in the way of making ill ones; and upon them lies as open both to his Majesty's dishonour and his own, as perhaps in any employment of the world besides.

Upon Mr. Secretary Coventry's part in such a delay, I can say little, but hope his Majesty will be content, at the least, for so long to keep a good servant, instead of hazarding an ill one: and I think the bargain between my Lord Arlington

and Mr. Secretary Williamson depended a great deal longer than this can do; though, as I remember, it was but six thousand pounds that was given between them, and my Lord Arlington gave my Lord St. Albans ten. And if his Majesty should have a mind, in the mean time, to excuse himself from admitting any other, by saying he is engaged; he may very well do it upon what he was pleased to say to me in the year 1674, after the peace was made, when I made my acknowledgments, as well as excuses, upon the offer of going Ambassador into Spain, that he intended me a better thing; and that though he was then engaged, yet, when it fell again, I should have it. I do not say this to lay the least hold in the world upon any such promise, but to furnish his Majesty with the excuse of being engaged, if he should think fit. Otherwise, it is a thing I absolutely forget whenever his Majesty does so: and if he finds any other person he thinks fit to bring into the place, I shall however, upon my return from hence, either in any other station, or in none, endeavour, the rest of my life, to deserve his Majesty's opinion of being either as good a servant, or at least as good a subject, as any he has.

I had a letter this last week from the Prince, wherein he was pleased to give me some account of Monsieur Bentinck's journey and return, extremely to his Highness's satisfaction, as to all that passed from his Majesty upon that occasion. As to your Lordship's part, he says these words: *Je l'avois particulierement adressé à Monsieur le Grand Tresorier; qui en a usé d'une maniere si obligeante, et lui a parlé avec tant de franchise, que je ne puis m'en assez louër.* If he can succeed in the desires I know he has, of making a journey into England when the campaign ends, I believe so much of his inclinations towards a peace (that may, in any

kind, save his honour and the rest of Flanders) that I am confident the King and his Highness, if they meet, will take their measures together upon that matter, and upon the future conduct of both their allies.

I ask your Lordship's pardon for so long a trouble; which yet must not end without the repetition of all the most sensible acknowledgments that can be made you for so much favour as has obliged me to be for ever, and with as much reason as passion, my Lord, your, &c.

To Sir John Temple.

Sir, Sheen, August ——, 1677.

SINCE the account I gave you lately from Nimeguen, of my son's coming to me, the errand he was sent on, and the answer I had returned thereupon to his Majesty, I thought that affair would have slept, at least for some time: but within a fortnight after, I received, by express, a command to repair immediately into England, without so much as any notice of the occasion. I accordingly left Nimeguen the 5th of July, and had a very good passage over in a yacht that was sent for me to the Briel. The first time I saw the King, he was pleased to call me into his closet, and to tell me, I knew the occasion of my coming over, from what my Lord Treasurer had lately writ to me by his command; that he had seen my answer, and was, however, resolved I should come into that post: that he knew no man was so fit to serve him in it as I; and since he found I was not able to bear the charge of coming into it, he was content to do it himself: that upon my coming over, Secretary Coventry had taken a great alarm; and though he had before been willing to part with his place upon the terms my Lord Treasurer had proposed to him, yet he

had, upon this occasion, come to him (the King) and told him the reports he met with from all hands, of my being sent for over to come into his office: that he hoped he had at least deserved, by so long services, not to be turned off without giving him so much time, that his friends and the world might see it was a choice of his own, rather than the King's. His Majesty said, he had told him, that he need not trouble himself any farther about it, and that when he took such a resolution, he would tell him of it himself; and that this was all he had said till he spoke with me.

I give his Majesty my humble thanks, as became me upon such an occasion; but said, I thought Secretary Coventry had great reason in what he desired: that he was a very worthy gentleman, and had served him long; and therefore I made it my humble suit to his Majesty, that he would not part with him to make room for me, till he himself should be content. The King bid me speak with my Lord Treasurer about it; and so this matter rests; and I am sure shall do so for me; for my friends must pardon me if I cannot overcome the coldness I have at heart upon this occasion; to say no more.

Some days after, the King seeming to be in great apprehensions for the Prince of Orange's person, upon the hazards he is continually exposed to, and likewise for the success of the present campaign; considering the French forces now in the field, and how ill the Prince is seconded by his allies, told me he had a mind I should go over to him, and try whether he would fall into such terms of a peace as his Majesty might hope to get accepted by France: that in case any such could be agreed on before the campaign ended, he should be glad to see the Prince here, having consented to it when Monsieur Bentinck was in England. I told his Majesty, that I was confident he knew the Prince's

mind upon the terms of a peace, without sending to him, by all that passed in that negotiation between the Prince and me last winter; and that I believed nothing could alter him, unless it were some great change of affairs, by the good or ill success of this campaign, which was not yet near an end: and when it was done, since his Majesty was content the Prince should come over, they would much easier agree when they were together, than by any Minister between them, in how much confidence soever.

I was extremely pressed for some days upon this journey, and had no mind to it, knowing how unwelcome it would be to the Prince while he was in the field, for many reasons; and how ill it would answer the end for which his Majesty intended it; and therefore, at last, told the King and Duke together, that if they were resolved to make the trial, I desired they would do it by another hand; that I had spent all my shot last winter, and left the Prince fixed upon a stand, which I was sure he would make good as long as he could: that Mr. Hyde was now idle here; who having upon his return from Poland received a commission to appear as one of the King's mediators during the short stay he should make at Nimeguen; and there being now but one Ambassador of the King's there, I thought there was nothing so proper as for Mr. Hyde to return to Nimeguen in that figure, how little soever there was to do; since, by our original commission, there ought to be two to act in that mediation: that, upon his journey, he might see the Prince of Orange, and pursue such instructions as his Majesty should give him upon that occasion.

This was approved and resolved on; and Mr. Hyde is well enough pleased with the employment; which renews his character at Nimeguen, that was

before but a compliment to him as he passed by that place: though I have, as a friend, told him before-hand what success he is like to meet in his journey to the Prince; and he reckons upon it.

This is all the present account I can give you of myself, whatever you will meet with in the newspapers that run abroad, and have made me Secretary of State already: so that I receive twenty impertinent compliments upon it, and applications for places in the office. But I am, I thank God, in an easy place here at Sheen, where I spend all the time I can possibly, and never saw any thing pleasanter than my garden, and the country and river about it, which I was grown almost a stranger to. I think here often of Sancho, that said, he had got nothing by his government, but the knowledge that he was not fit to govern any thing besides his sheep. And that I have got by knowing a Court, and the course of public affairs, that I am not fit to serve in one, nor to manage the other; which is all I shall say in excuse of my conduct: and you, and my friends, will be content I shall at least take a little breath, and see the issue of the present campaign abroad, and of the Prince's journey hither at the end of it, before I take any new measures, or fall into any new engagements.

My wife and family continue still at Nimeguen; only my sister and Jack are with me here, and both seem as kind to Sheen as I am. We are confident you would be so too, if you could resolve of seeing it once since the alterations made here; that you might have a share in the pleasure of them, as well as you had in the charge.

We long to hear of your good health, having, I doubt, lost some letters by our sudden removals. I am ever, Sir, your, &c.

To Sir John Temple.

Sir, London, Nov. ——, 1677.

THOUGH I do not trouble you often with public news or business, yet I am sensible of having too much neglected it of late, considering what has passed; which, I know, you will be more pleased with than any you have been entertained with a great while. For I remember how often and how much you have desired to see the Prince of Orange married here; not only from your good wishes to him, but from your apprehensions of some greater matches that might befal us, and with consequences ill enough to posterity, as well as to the present age. I am in a good deal of haste at this present time, and therefore shall sum up a great deal in a little room. The Prince of Orange came to the King at Newmarket, where he was mighty well received both of King and Duke. I made the acquaintance there between the Prince and my Lord Treasurer; and in such a manner, as, though they were not at all known before to one another, yet they fell very soon into confidence.

The Prince said not a word to any of them of any thoughts of a wife while they staid at Newmarket; and told me, no considerations should move him in that affair till he had seen the lady. The day after he saw her here, he moved it to the King and Duke; and though he did it with so good a grace that it was very well received, yet, in four or five days treaty, it proved to be entangled in such difficulties, that the Prince sent for me one night, and uttering his whole heart, told me, he was resolved to give it over, repenting him from the heart of his journey, and would be gone within two days, and trust God Almighty with what would follow; and so went to bed the most melancholy

that ever I saw him in my life. Yet before eleven o'clock the next morning, the King sent me to him, to let him know he was resolved on the match, and that it should be done immediately, and in the Prince's own way.

Thus far what had passed went no farther than the King, the Duke, the Prince, my Lord Treasurer, and me: but that afternoon it was declared at the foreign committee, and next day at council; you will easily imagine with what general joy. I cannot but tell you, that no man seems to lay it to heart so much as my Lord Arlington, having had no part in it; which he could not but take notice of to the Prince, who told me, his compliment to him upon it was, that some things, though they were good in themselves, yet were spoiled by the manner of doing them; but this was in itself so good, that the manner of doing it could not spoil it. I am told he lays it upon me, and will never forgive me; which I must bear as well as I can: but yet, because you know how we have formerly lived, I will tell you, that it was not only impossible my Lord Treasurer and he should concur in one thing, but he had likewise lost all the Prince's confidence and opinion, since his last journey into Holland. Besides, for my own part, I found these two years past, he could not bear my being so well neither with the Prince nor with the Treasurer; but endeavoured by Sir Gabriel Sylvius to break the first, by steps which the Prince acquainted me with; nor could he hold reproaching me with the last whenever I went to him, though he himself had first advised me to apply myself to my Lord Treasurer all I could, upon my last embassy into Holland. And though I had ever since told them both, I would live well with them both, let them live as ill as they would one with another; and my

Lord Treasurer had been so reasonable as to be contented with it.

Since the marriage, the King and the Prince have fallen into the business abroad, and agreed upon the terms of a peace, which the King will offer to France, and such as, they both conclude, will secure Flanders. They both agree, that I must of necessity go to Paris immediately upon this errand, and bring a positive answer from that Court within a time prefixed. I never undertook any journey more unwillingly, knowing in what opinion I stand already at that Court; how deeply they resent the Prince's match without their communication, or the least word to their Ambassador here; and with how little reason I can hope to be the welcomer for this errand. But the King will absolutely have it; and so I have made all my small preparations, and think to be gone within two days; which is all at present, but to ask your blessing, and assure you of my being, Sir, your, &c.

To the Prince of Orange.

May it please your Highness, London, Dec. 8, 1677.

I SHOULD by last post have rejoiced with your Highness upon the news of your happy arrival, and upon the resolutions that have been taken here since you went, in those affairs wherein your Highness is so deeply concerned; but that my Lord Treasurer's letter to you upon this subject was so long and so particular, that nothing could be added to it for your Highness's information or satisfaction: and therefore I resolved not to trouble you with the same thing by that post, and from so much a worse hand. I suppose my Lord Ambassador Hyde will have shewed your Highness his instruc-

tions, and Mr. Secretary's letter upon that occasion, which agreeing so fully with what my Lord Treasurer writ, must have left you in no doubt those resolutions being taken here. And yet I thought your Highness would not be displeased to know from me, that I am of opinion they are so; and, which is more, that the Duke will go up to as great a height in them as any man, in case France gives them the occasion, by their answer to what Mr. Montague goes away with to-day; and that his Highness will absolutely conclude from thence, what their good intentions are or have been to the King: though I have this second time excused myself from attending upon your Highness, and thereby devolved his Majesty's commands upon Mr. Hyde once more, yet I hope your Highness will pardon me, since I have only reserved myself for the next occasion, which, I expect, will be of more moment, and within a very little time. For the present, I only desire your Highness will please to give your answer to what Mr. Hyde carries you, in such manner as may be fully to his Majesty's satisfaction; and if you shall scruple the doing it to any other hand, that you would at least do it in a private letter to his Majesty's own, which may not go farther than to those hands by which all your Highness's concerns have hitherto been transacted.

I hope your Highness will think to write particularly to the Duke, as well as to the King, in acknowledgment and applause of these late resolutions; and my Lord Treasurer will deserve it too, by the great part he has had in them.

I ask your Highness's pardon for the length and confidence of this letter, and your justice in believing me ever, what I shall ever be, with a perfect devotion, Sir, your Highness's, &c.

The King's Speech intended to the Parliament, drawn up at my Lord Treasurer's desire, April 27, 1678. (See Vol. II. p. 445).

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I INTENDED to have met you sooner, but found it necessary to defer it for some few days, that I might discourse more freely and clearly to you upon the present conjunctures; and that we might perfectly understand one another, which, I am confident, we now shall do, and this day end all distrusts and jealousies between us; because I know we mean the same things, which are, the honour and safety of these kingdoms, the preservation of Flanders, and preventing the growth of the French power.

I was some time in hopes to have attained these ends by the exercise of my mediation in pursuit of a peace; which I thought the more necessary by observing the bent of some of the confederates towards it, and the ill conduct of the war by others; while I received, at the same time, frequent assurances from France, that they never intended the conquest of Flanders, but desired a reasonable peace; and should very far consider my offices and thoughts upon the conditions of it.

But seeing the state of the war so much changed, and Flanders so much endangered by the events of last campaign, I thought it necessary, for the safety of these kingdoms (and indeed that of Christendom), so far to enforce my mediation, as to propose last winter to France such terms of a peace as I had reason to believe the confederates would accept, and as I was sure would leave Flanders defensible; which, at that time, I doubted would hardly be so by continuing the war: and I had not much reason to doubt of France; because their refusal would plainly discover their design of

conquering Flanders (contrary to all their professions), since both they and I knew it could not be secured without a frontier, as I proposed for it. Upon the difficulties made by France to accept these conditions, and finding Holland would not continue the war, otherwise than in pursuit, and with the prospect of a peace, I immediately made two alliances with them; one of mutual defence, and the other offensive against France, in case they would not accept the terms I had proposed; which were these,

That they should restore to Spain the towns of Charleroy, Aeth, Oudenarde, Courtray, Tournay, Valenciennes, Condé, with their dependencies; and all others which should be taken after that time (as St. Gislain, Ghent, and Ypres have unfortunately been). That they should restore all they had taken in Sicily (which is a care now happily prevented): that they should restore Maestricht to the Dutch, and Lorrain to the Duke of that name. That the peace of the Emperor should be made upon the foot of affairs at that time, by which Philipsburgh would have remained to the Empire, and the loss of Friburgh would have been prevented. That, because the peace of the North could not be adjusted in so short a time, a truce should be concluded there, till by the pursuit of our mediation a peace could be agreed on.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am not ashamed to own publicly this scheme of a peace, both to you here, and to all the world abroad; as what I thought most agreeable with the duty of a mediator, and with what I owed to the safety of my own kingdoms, and the regard I had to your satisfaction, in the just concernment you had so often expressed for the preservation of Flan-

ders; which I knew might be much easier defended after the restoring those towns, than before it. But I will confess I am ashamed to find myself so much deceived as I have been by France upon this occasion; who, contrary to all they have so often professed and promised me, have cut off all hopes of any reasonable peace, by which Flanders might be safe: but, on the other side, making difficulties, first upon one town, then upon another (as the necessity of the Spaniards or dispositions of the Dutch gave them occasion), they have all along too plainly discovered their designs of carrying on the war to the full conquest of Flanders; whilst they endeavour to amuse the world, and us in particular, with the discourses or overtures of a peace.

Yet in the last they have made, they include the present restitution of Sweden, and the Duke of Holstein; though they confine the peace they offer to the 10th of May. They will, indeed, keep Lorrain, whilst they pretend to restore it: for they will keep Nancy, Marsal, and the highways through that country: and they will have Tournay, Valenciennes, Condé, and Ypres, which are the very keys of Flanders on that side; besides Dinant or Charlemont on the other.

I would not confess to you how much I have been deceived by them in these practices, and in those they have since begun with the Dutch upon this occasion, if I were not resolved to be so no more: and I will tell you plainly, that I should immediately have declared the war upon the discovery of them, but that I found it necessary first to make my alliances with the rest of the confederates, and therein to pursue the good advice you hinted to me yourselves, in one of your addresses, to provide that none of the parties engaged in the confederacy should lay down their arms, or depart

from their alliances: as likewise, that none of them should hold any commerce or trade with the French King, or his subjects, during the war.

Both these points I have been endeavouring to secure now for some time; but have been delayed in them, contrary to my expectation, by the Dutch Ambassadors wanting powers, or instructions, to conclude upon those two particulars: and I doubt, in the last, your too great haste in forbidding French commodities was the occasion of the Dutch declining what before they had offered in so material a point. I say not this at all to reproach you, because I know your meaning was good; and because, in a time when the safety of Christendom, as well as our own, seems to lie at stake, we ought all to look forward upon what is best to be done, and not backward upon what occasions are lost, or what errors have passed; or what, in short, is now past remedy.

God be thanked, I have at length retrieved this point in a great measure, and find the Ministers of the confederates now ready to conclude our treaties for carrying on the war by common consent, and pursuing it according to such successes as God Almighty shall please to give to so just and necessary an undertaking. I have, in the mean time, made my levies of land-forces, and my preparations for sea, according to the scheme and proportions you yourselves designed. I have already sent —— thousand men over into Flanders, and have —— thousand more ready to send after them; and am ready to declare the war, immediately upon the signing of our treaties: but first resolved to have your advice upon it, now I have laid the whole affair before you. For your assistances I doubt them not at all, considering the many assurances you have given me upon this occasion, and the zeal you have ever expressed to the safety, honour, and

true interests of the nation; in which I doubt not but we shall always agree.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord, Sheen, May 18th, 1678.

FINDING myself something recovered of my illness, which hindered me from waiting upon your Lordship before I left the town, I could not but let you know how very sensible I was of what you last told me, with so much kindness, about his Majesty and Royal Highness having been so much displeased with some of my late discourses to his Majesty; though your Lordship could not tell me more of them, than that they were some popular notions: as likewise the great dissatisfaction his Majesty would receive at the difficulties I made to enter into an affair which belonged not at all to my post; and wherein his Majesty had not done me the honour to acquaint me with the deliberation or digestion of it. I must confess, the sense of his Majesty's displeasure (which I never deserved) has been so great a mortification to me, that, to shew how much I have ever been concerned in his Majesty's service and satisfaction, and how little in any advantages of my own, I have resolved most humbly to lay at his Majesty's feet, not only my two present embassies, but also the promise of the Secretary's place, which his Majesty was pleased long since to make me so graciously, and of his motion. Therefore, whenever his Majesty pleases to order me a letter of revocation to the States General (which I shall send over to my Secretary at the Hague), and give me leave to send for both my families away from the Hague and Nimeguen, I shall upon it come and beg the honour of kissing his Majesty's hand, and make him my humble acknowledgments for the undeserved honours he hath done me, by so many and

so great employments abroad, as well as by designing me so much a greater at home. I shall at the same time assure his Majesty of my resolutions to pass the rest of my life in the constant and hearty wishes and prayers for the honour and safety of his Majesty and his kingdoms; and that, how mean a servant soever I have been, he shall find me as good a subject as any man alive.

For what I ought to say to your Lordship upon this occasion, I shall leave it till I wait upon you; being resolved, by all means possible, to preserve the honour of so long an acquaintance, and of so much favour as your Lordship's to me. And as, during all my employments, I never yet asked any thing of his Majesty, besides the bare pay of them, nor ever used to trouble your Lordship about any business of my own, so I shall continue the same course at the end of them, and leave to my wife the pursuit of what his Majesty owes me upon them; that so your Lordship may ever reckon upon all the services, and never upon any trouble from, my Lord, your Lordship's, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord, London, July 2, 1678.

THE account I gave your Grace by my brother of my not writing, was so true, that though I was very sorry I had it for so long together, yet I know your Grace was so just as to receive it. I will not presume to say it is now at an end, because that God Almighty can only tell; but yet thus much is certain, that I am just now going aboard for Holland, and upon such measures as his Majesty seems more resolved to pursue than ever I thought to see him, in case the States will be prevailed with to fall into them. He will be sure to have all the help the Prince can give him, who seems to have reco-

vered a new soul upon this incident from France; which has given, at least, the appearance and overture of new measures in the world. The truth is, this refusal to restore the Spanish and Dutch towns till the restitution of Sweden, has been so plain language, that it has at present opened many eyes both here and in Holland, which have long been shut, to all our cost; but whether they are proof against all charms, I will not venture to determine. I can only assure your Grace, that the Duke has been the most constant that can be imagined, in this opinion of the French designs and intentions to his Majesty, ever since my Lord Feversham's return; and declared himself the plainest that ever I heard, yesterday at the foreign committee, that nothing could be more evident, than that France intended a universal monarchy, and nothing but England could hinder it; and that, without it, the King would endanger his crown. And for his Majesty, I have some particular * reasons (which I cannot enter-

* The secret of the King and Duke's being so eager and hearty in their resolutions to break with France, at this juncture, was as follows:

France, in order to break the force of the confederacy, and elude all just conditions of a general peace, resolved by any means to enter into separate measures with Holland; to which end, it was absolutely necessary to engage the good offices of the King of England, who was looked upon to be master of the peace whenever he pleased. The bargain was struck for three or four hundred thousand pounds. But when all was agreed, Monsieur Barillon, the French Ambassador, told the King, that he had orders from his Master, before payment, to add a private article, by which his Majesty should be engaged never to keep above eight thousand men of standing troops in his three kingdoms. This unexpected proposal put the King in a rage, and made him say, '—d's fish! does my brother of France think to serve me thus? Are all his promises to make me absolute master of my ——, come to this? Or does he think that a thing to be done with eight thousand men?'

It is possible I may be a little mistaken as to the sums of money, and number of men; but the main of the story is exactly as I had it from the author.

tain your Grace with at this distance) to believe, that he is perfectly cured of ever hoping any thing well from France, and past the danger of being cajoled by any future offers from thence.

So that I see nothing left to shake his present resolutions, but the fear of being well seconded in them at home or in Holland: the last I shall soon be able to give his Majesty an account of; but the first I must leave to others, that are better acquainted with the scene where that game must play. I am of opinion, both that must be played ill, and the war managed ill, to fail, if we go into it; but I have no reason to believe but both those may very well befal us. All that is to be said is, that all men agree the present measures are of absolute necessity; since no *penchant* to a peace can bring it about, if another will have a war; and if it must be at one time or another, though this may be a worse than any past, yet it is a better than any like to come.

This is all I can say worth your Grace's trouble; at least, if this itself be so. For I am sure nothing can be so unnecessary as to repeat any of those professions I have so long made, and justly, of my being ever, and with as much passion as I am sure it is with reason and truth, my Lord, your Grace's most faithful and most humble servant.

To Mr. Secretary Williamson.

Sir, Hague, July 14, N. S. 1678.

I SET sail on board the Catherine yacht at two o'clock after noon on Tuesday, and landed at Rotterdam about the same hour next day. I came immediately to the Hague, and went straight to the Prince at Hounslerdyke, where I arrived about eight o'clock, and stayed till eleven; and thought

it my duty to give his Majesty an account of our first discourses.

When I had entertained his Highness at large with the subject of my journey; the dispositions raised in his Majesty by this last unexpected accident from France, upon the point of concluding the peace; the necessity of knowing fully the mind of the States, in order to join with them; and the firm resolutions his Majesty had taken upon it, in case France persisted in the refusal of the towns; and this State in not admitting the peace without it: his Highness told me, the last point was the chiefest of all; which was, the firmness of his Majesty's resolution in this matter, upon which all would depend; since nothing else could dispose either France to make the peace, or this State to any firm resolutions of continuing the war. When I had endeavoured, and I think succeeded, in satisfying his Highness in this point, by telling him many circumstances in the game in England, as it has played for some months past; and many reasons his Majesty had given me to believe how unsatisfied he had been of late with the dealing from France; the Prince told me how glad he was to receive this notice from me: that for this last incident in the peace from France, he could not but look upon it as a thing come down from heaven, and the happiest that ever could have fallen out, both for his Majesty and himself; considering the great change it was like to make in this State. For he would tell me in confidence, that those dispositions which had been here raised in the State, and carried them so far in so mischievous a peace, had been grounded upon the weakness and uncertainty of our conduct in England, and upon the opinion of the contrary in France; as well as upon that of their good intentions to live always fairly with this State, and

to content themselves without *poussant* their conquests any farther in Flanders: that in case the peace had been made upon those terms accepted here, the same persons and dispositions that brought it about would certainly have ended all measures between England and them, and throw the whole dependence of this State upon France; and that he (the Prince) should not have been able to hinder it: whereas the last incident had made so great a change in the minds of the Magistrates here, and the people too, that the chief leaders in those councils were come to be ashamed of themselves, and to confess their mistakes: and if they should grow to be assured of his Majesty's going into the war, and sticking to them firmly, he did not doubt but, even after a peace, this State would come to have their dependence wholly upon England. He said, he believed nevertheless, that if France should restore the towns before the war broke out into new action, that this State would not be hindered from accepting the peace: but of this he saw no appearance, since the French Ambassadors had declared so positively to those of this State at Nimeguen, that their Master was fixed in the point of not restoring them till the satisfaction of Sweden; and that Monsieur de Luxemburgh had given his direct refusal of suffering any more provisions to go into Mons, till the peace was signed: upon which he (the Prince) was resolved to go away to the army within two days; but would leave the Pensioner so instructed, that I might go on with my negotiations here in his absence.

I then told his Highness the three points upon which his Majesty expected to receive satisfaction before he could take a final measure with this State; which were, the not making peace without mutual consent, or, at least, the fixing of certain terms to which the war should extend, and a peace not to

be concluded without them: the prohibition of commerce with France here as well as in England; and the mutual concert of forces. I added a fourth, which was in the foot of my instructions; that, in case of any places lost on either part, neither shall make peace, without being restored to the state they were in at the time of the treaty's being concluded between us.

The Prince told me to the last there would be no difficulty. As to the first, this State would never be brought to an article of not making peace without mutual consent, nor seeing some bounds to the war; and therefore thought the terms of the treaty of January last would be a good ground to treat upon; or such other terms as should be farther agreed to by consent of parties.

For the second, the same that Monsieur Van Lewen had told his Majesty in England, that it would be very hard to gain it by a direct convention before the war; but that it was a thing must necessarily follow: for, in a war, the bottom of England failing, in which they now traded, all others would be used as enemies by us; and so there could no trade remain between France and this State, while the war lasted.

I told his Highness, I did not leave his Majesty disposed to enter into the war without this point being fixed: and though the thing seemed like to play as his Highness had discoursed; yet it was of that consequence to the main event of the war, that I thought it would be best to tell the States what his Majesty absolutely reckoned upon, and what they were like to trust to in this matter; and to shew them, that, since it was a necessary consequence of the war, it might as well be a precedent article between us. His Highness consented, and said, Follow this method.

As to the third, he was of opinion, no concert of

forces could be made particular between us, but for our own mutual defence; which is done by our defensive leagues: but for that which is the defence of Flanders, it must be made among all the confederates, in such manner as would be most conducing to those ends: that he supposed this State would bring an army into the field of twenty-five thousand men, besides their garrisons: that his Majesty must not go so near the wind in such a war, as to proportion himself to the weak and exhausted condition of this State (which would go as far, however, as possibly they could), but to the necessity of the war, and to what the Parliament would be brought to furnish upon so great an occasion, and which they had always had so much at heart: that it would be fit to engage some of the Princes of Germany; but not as this State has done, leaving the forces under the command of their own Princes, but to have them under his Majesty's command, to act where he pleased; which would make his Majesty master of the war and peace, and set him at the head of affairs (which was the figure England ought to make), and draw this State and the neighbouring Princes of Germany into a dependence upon him.

After this, his Highness asked me, whether the King would not declare the war till the three points were concluded with the States here? I answered, that I could not say any thing certain; but that I was not empowered otherways, than upon their agreeing with his Majesty in them, to conclude finally with the States; since his Majesty would follow their dispositions, having consented to the peace upon their instances; and so would hope to reckon upon their firmness in it, and not breaking from him, as they had done in their last measures. The Prince seemed something troubled, that his Majesty would not go into the war before the granting

of the three points; but he concluded, I should lose no time in entering upon the business with the States; seemed much pleased that Monsieur Van Lewen was come over with me, and in sentiments so agreeable to those of his Majesty; said he would endeavour to have him immediately brought into the committee of foreign affairs, though out of method; but upon pretence of his being come from England: that he would be extreme glad he could bring Monsieur Hoeft into it too; but that could not be, because he was not of the States General: but that this incident from France had brought him and his town of Amsterdam to be for the war.

Upon this the Prince said farther, though several persons here had appeared to be his enemies upon the last transactions; yet he had been so far from treating them so, that he had continued his commerce all along, and had his conversation even more with them than his friends; and by that means they were now grown to understand one another.

I have desired a conference with the States Commissioners at four this afternoon. I am ever, &c.

P. S. Just upon the closure of this letter, the Prince came to me; and desired me that I would write to his Majesty, to beg the dispatching away of those troops which Monsieur Van Lewen told the States were ordered into Flanders; and that those ships which now are ready, may be sent out in a squadron to sea, to give the French some jealousy upon their coasts, which might possibly make some diversion now while the Prince marches: and, if his Majesty thinks fit, that some of the troops in Flanders may have command to obey the Prince's orders, in case he should have need of them upon some great and pressing occasion.

To Mr. Secretary Williamson.

Sir, Hague, July 15, 1678.

SINCE my last, which was yesterday, I have had two conferences with the States Commissioners. In the first, I exposed to them my journey's subject at this time: I expressed to them his Majesty's sentiments and resolutions, in the very terms of my instructions: and concluded that his Majesty, as he would have entered into measures with them for the guaranty of the peace, so he would for the continuing of the war.

They returned all acknowledgments that could be, of his Majesty's generous dealing. They excused themselves upon their own necessities, and the weakness of their allies, particularly in Flanders: that they had been extremely surprised to meet with this new accident from France; particularly since the restitution of the towns was tied up to the satisfaction of Sweden, without so much as mentioning what satisfaction Sweden would accept, and in what time: and, indeed, without consenting that Sweden should accept of such satisfaction, as, perhaps, the Swedes themselves would have been contented with. That it would now depend upon his Majesty, whether they should submit to the terms of any peace that France would think fit to impose upon them.

That, indeed, upon the evacuation of the towns by France, the peace would then be concluded; but there was no hopes of that, since their express brought word, that the French Ambassadors had declared at Nimeguen, that they neither had order to give any other answer, than they had done already, nor expected to receive any from the King their Master: and, that in a private conference between Monsieur Colbert and Beverning, the first

had told him, upon the States refusing to accept the peace on those terms, that his Master would make them accept it, *bon gré mal gré qu'ils en ayent.* That, upon all this, they desired me, if I had any farther lights to give them of his Majesty's intentions, in case the war went on, I would do it.

Hereupon I proposed to them the four points contained in my instructions.

Upon the first I found it true, what the Prince had told me, that they would not hear of a general and boundless consent; so then I descended to the terms of the last treaty, but with such further conditions, more advantageous to the safety of Flanders, as should be agreed on by the consent of both parties.

Upon the second they made great difficulties; but I put, once for all, my whole strength upon this point, and so told them, that the prohibition of commerce was a thing which had been long pressed upon his Majesty, by their Ambassador in England, that he could not believe they were not equally satisfied with it here. But besides, I told them, the thing must be, and therefore a convention would do nothing but declare it to the world; and that this would be the greatest step towards a peace, it being the only way to persuade France that we were all resolved to go on with the war; since it was evident that France had made this last incident only because they thought this State would accept of any peace, rather than lose their trade any longer.

The Commissioners told me, for themselves, they were so far convinced of my reasons, that if I had none but them to deal with, I might assure myself the thing would be done. But what their Masters would say to a thing in which they had always apprehended an invincible difficulty (at least, till England should have declared the war), they could not tell: but, however, they promised me to give

it all the advantage they could by their office and representations.

As to the third, about the proportion of forces, they seemed infinitely unsatisfied, that England should go no more than almost an even pace with a State so out of all proportion to us in strength at the best, and so exhausted as this country now is, by the sixth year of so great a war.

They pretended to fear, that this offer would shock their principals so far, as to make them think, that since England would only protract the war, without forces enough to make a good peace, they had as good receive an ill one now as hereafter.

They said so much upon this point, that I was fain to put them in mind of the constitution of England, as well as their riches and forces; and how much it would depend upon Parliaments, whether his Majesty would be enabled to prosecute the war with such vigour as he himself, perhaps, would think necessary.

The fourth point, of mutual guaranty to each party, upon the state wherein they should enter into the treaty, met with no difficulty; and so this conference ended.

At two this afternoon I saw the Prince, after having appointed another conference with the States at four. He told me the news he had just received from Mons, of a skirmish much to the advantage of the garrison.

At the conference at four this afternoon, the Commissioners said, they had acquainted the States with our last conference; who were extremely sensible of his Majesty's favour to them; but that there were two points they found of hard digestion; the prohibition of commerce, and the proportion of forces. However, that upon the first, and the reasons I had urged, the States had resolved the Deputies should go to consult their several towns: but

for the proportion of forces, they thought it would be of ill consequence to propose it to them in those terms; and, therefore, had commanded them, the Commissioners, once more to press me upon this point, to enlarge the proportion on his Majesty's side. I will not trouble you with the arguments that passed on both sides; but only tell you, that it ended in this article, to be propounded by the Deputies to their towns, *Qu'en attendant un concert plus particulier touchant les forces que sa Majesté et les alliés, engagés un cette guerre contribueront; sa Majesté fournira par provision un tiers moins de troupes en Flandres, et un tiers plus de forces de mer que celles qui seront fournis par cet Etat.* And so this conference ended, and the success of it must be expected on Monday.

Monsieur Olivecrans returned this day from England. I am, Sir, your, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord, Hague, July 20, N. S. 1678.

HAVING drawn up matters here to a head, at least as far as can be till the 5th of next month; and besides, the draught of our treaty, which I yet know not whether I can sign or no; because I cannot tell whether they will come up to a formal article, for the prohibition of commerce; and the matter will not be of so pressing haste while they here attend the final answer from France: I have dispatched away Mr. Meredith, his Majesty's Secretary of the embassy here, by the Catherine yacht, and encharged with my main pacquet to the Secretary; though I send a duplicate both of it and my last dispatch by the master of the pacquet-boat's hands, that parts the same day. I have charged him with my compliments in particular to your Lordship when he makes his own; and shall add as little as

I can to your trouble, besides the share of what you will have by my main dispatch; only I cannot but mark to your Lordship upon what the French Ambassador said to the Dutch, of their being sure of England upon treaties being concluded with his Majesty; that the Prince tells me, Monsieur d'Avaux asked Monsieur Odyke at Nimeguen, when such treaties were made, whether the Prince were not included, and had not his share in them? And when Monsieur Odyke said, Not, and that he believed he knew nothing of it, Monsieur d'Avaux seemed much to wonder at it. I presume, by this sort of dealing among them, you may reckon upon the thing growing public, whatever may have been private between his Majesty and them, when the affair breaks out between us, as it is like to do, unless France make a peace contrary to those heights wherewith they have hitherto treated us and all the world. If it does, his Majesty may well put it upon the same score with many others of that kind, which have been played by France; and the public notice whereof, will be the only way to possess all men, both at home and abroad, with the belief of his cure beyond relapse. To hear the tricks and insinuations that have been used here, especially to have men apprehend the joint designs of his Majesty and the Prince upon the liberty of this people, and the resolutions of France to defend them, would make any man alive lose all patience; because it looks as if they deal with men just like so many children, and make them believe any stories of cocks and bulls, whenever it served their turn; than which nothing can look like so great a scorn; and nothing, methinks, can be less borne than that. The mask is falling off here apace, and the affairs of Christendom will, I doubt not, be put once more into his Majesty's hands, almost by miracle: but if he lets this knot slip again by any new fluctua-

tion, or change of measures, it is gone for ever, and the game of Christendom, as well as his own, never to be retrieved.

The Pensioner and Monsieur Van Lewen tell me this evening, that they have certain intelligence of the intention of France, to slight both Charleroy and Oudenarde, in case they come to an evacuation of the places in Flanders; which is directly (as they two say) contrary to the express terms of the agreement. I ought to be instructed what I am to do here in case of such an incident, even upon the execution of the peace. I hear from all hands, the French Ambassadors at Nimeguen are horribly unquiet upon the transactions here: and Monsieur Fagel told me, he could not but observe, that the French Ambassadors could now come to theirs with this memorial, and all the fair words; whereas before, they treated them *de haut en bas, et comme des coquins.* I am so tired out with this cruel pinch of business since my coming over, that though I remember nothing else worth your Lordship's trouble, yet if I should, for the present, have forgot any material point, I cannot doubt your pardon to one that is with so great passion, and so perfect a truth, my Lord, your, &c.

To Sir Lionel Jenkins.

My Lord, Hague, July 20, N. S. 1678.

I AM extremely ashamed, as well as sorry, to find two letters before me of the 16th and 28th from your Lordship, without having the satisfaction of giving you any accounts from hence by the last post; the fault whereof I must needs lay upon Mr. Meredith, and leave him to excuse himself as well as he can; yet I will say, not to lessen that fault, but only that misfortune, that I could not have found very much to have informed your Lordship

from hence on Sunday last, besides only the subject of my instructions, and the assurance of my having pursued them here. For the first, I presume your Lordship had the knowledge of them given you from the Secretary's office, about the time of my dispatch; and for the other, I will so far reckon upon your Lordship's justice, as to have believed it of me, whether I gave you part of it or no: however, finding myself this morning in possession of one hour of leisure, after the sharpest pinch of business ever since I came over, that ever yet fell upon me in my life; and not being assured that the Secretary's office acquitted themselves to your Lordship as they ought to have done upon this occasion, and, as I am sure, was the King's intention; I will tell your Lordship, that the King having laid his absolute commands upon me, about a month since, to go away for Nimeguen, and assist there at the conclusion of the peace (which seemed then so near) and to use my best offices, that no difficulty should arise between the French and Spaniards, and thereby the French should have no occasion left of making any farther progress of their arms in Flanders; I submitted to his Majesty's pleasure, though I had often resolved, since I went last over, never to turn my face northward any more; but I saw then no other way left of saving that little which remaineth in Flanders, considering the circumstances that played here in Holland, as well as at home; and your Lordship knows how long and how often I have told you and my other friends, that with the loss of that country, all my politics are ended.

When I was ready, and within twenty-four hours of embarking upon this errand, your Lordship's letter came to his Majesty's hands, giving him an account of that new incident from France, which alone, in appearance, could have obstructed that

peace, by their refusing to evacuate the places in Flanders, till the restitution in Sweden: I never saw the King more surprised than at this news, who sent to me immediately to acquaint me with it; and I must needs say, that I found both the King and the Duke growing so angry upon it, that I thought it my part to temper them as far as I could, desiring them, not to reason, or, at least, not to conclude, upon a thing which was yet uncertain; but, in the first place, to be assured, either from the French Ambassador, or else from France, whether that thing was true or no; because all steps or resolutions taken upon it, would be forced to change, in case France should disown their Ambassadors at Nimeguen, in what they advanced there upon this occasion. His Majesty was pleased to follow this method, and that very night spoke to Monsieur Barillon about it; but finding him to own no knowledge of it, and, much less, instructions upon it, and, indeed, not seeming to believe the thing, two expresses were dispatched away into France the two following days, one by Monsieur Barillon, for his own instruction, and the other by his Majesty to Mr. Mountague, for his clear information upon the point, with orders to draw a sudden and positive answer upon it from that Court.

The day after, upon application of the Dutch Ambassadors representing the thing to his Majesty in the same colours, and with the circumstances your Lordship had done before, together with the resolution taken upon it by the States their Masters, not to submit to such a new and unreasonable imposition, by which they were like to lose all the good they pretended from the peace; and desiring his Majesty's protection in it; the King thought it a matter of that weight and consequence, that he resolved immediately to dispatch away my Lord Sunderland, to know fully the mind

of France in this matter, and with orders not to stay above five days in Paris for his answer. His Lordship was ready to be gone, and within six hours of parting from the town, when not only Monsieur Barillon's express, as well as his Majesty's, having returned with an absolute answer from France, that they were resolved not to evacuate the towns; a second express arrived from Mr. Mountague, not only to confirm the former answer, but to let his Majesty know, that the King of France had desired Mr. Mountague, that no person might be sent over upon that occasion; since it was a thing in which he was resolved, and which therefore would bear no reasoning.

Upon this dispatch, his Majesty immediately stopped that of my Lord Sunderland, and resolved to hasten mine, with new instructions to assure this State how much his Majesty was surprised at this new incident from France; how entirely he approved their resolution already taken upon it, and how firmly he was resolved to stand by them in it. I was charged likewise with powers and orders to conclude immediately upon measures between his Majesty and this State, in case of the war's going on; provided I could first agree with them in these three points: the first, of not making the peace without mutual consent; or, at least, without the conditions of January last: the second, a joining with his Majesty in the prohibition of French commerce: and lastly, a concert of forces. I could not disobey his Majesty in this second commission, though I was infinitely discouraged by many circumstances, and, most of all, by Mr. Hyde and Godolphin, who told me plainly, that matters were gone on too far here to be retrieved; at least that they were sure it could never be done, without his Majesty's first declaring the war; which he could not resolve upon, till he was first

sure of the mind of Holland in that case: however, I came over, and what hath passed here will be better told your Lordship by the Dutch Ambassadors, than by me, with whom I know you live in confidence, and will do so the more upon this occasion: besides, I had rather leave it to them, because I both want time, and should be forced often to speak of myself in it, which I ever love to avoid. The upshot of all hitherto is, that the States seem to resolve an immediate answer shall be given to the French Ambassadors last memorial at Nimeguen, and that a positive answer from France shall be desired by the 5th of next month, upon the point of evacuating the places; that, in the mean time, the measures shall be concluded between his Majesty and this State, in case of France's persisting to refuse it; and the very towns of Amsterdam, Leyden, and Rotterdam, as well as all the rest of this province, seem absolutely and unanimously resolved, in case of such a refusal, to go on with the war, in conjunction with his Majesty, as well as the rest of the allies, and upon the strictest measures between them. This resolution I thought would have passed this day; but the final resolution is referred till to-morrow morning: however, I would not let this post go away without telling your Lordship thus much, and adding, for your better light, that I find the Prince infinitely satisfied with the States dispositions and carriage in this whole transaction, since I came over; and that I left the Duke so violently bent upon a war with France, that he told the King publicly at the foreign committee, in my hearing, the day before I came away, after repeating several circumstances of the French ill usage and intention towards him, that nothing could be more evident, than the French design of an universal monarchy; that nothing but England could hinder it;

and that his Majesty, without engaging in it, would hazard his own crown and safety, as well as that of Christendom. I am ever, your Lordship's most faithful humble servant, W. Temple.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord, Hague, July 25, N. S. 1678.

THOUGH the other letter be of a staler date, yet, upon perusal again, I found some things in it that might be proper enough for your Lordship to know, and so I am content to let it go. I shall only here give your Lordship joy of this negotiation achieved under your ministry; which is by all on this side esteemed a much greater than another, whereon I have known some former Ministers in England value themselves very much, though not very long. That which may possibly make this the more acceptable to his Majesty, is the evidence of so much art and industry, with which the French have of late used all the practices imaginable to gain this State; upon the belief whereof I doubt, they have not considered us the more, or used us the better. For I do not find that the French Ambassadors at Nimeguen took any notice of Sir Lionel Jenkins in the delivery of their late memorial there; or that he came to be possessed of it otherwise than from the Dutch Ambassadors. And since I came over, Monsieur d'Estrades has written several letters to the towns of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Dort, and Leyden, to persuade them, that the Prince of Orange and his friends will have no peace: and the Pensioner has surprised an original letter from Monsieur Louvois to Monsieur d'Estrades; by which he bids him tell those of his correspondents in Holland, from whom the last advice came, that in case they gave him no better, he would certainly stop their pensions. The best on it is, the sore seems to be broken, and to have

run out so, as to leave the body more healthful than before: and if God bless the Prince in this one enterprize of Mons, he will be greater here than ever any of his ancestors were: I suppose, one good fruit more may arise from this affair; which is, that I do not believe any man who sees the course of my dispatches, can think there are any more tricks in the business; nor do I see why men should be sick any longer of that imaginary disease in England, after they are cured here. And if the cure should be wrought at a time in both places, the world is safe, let the war go on; if not, it may be lost still: and I know not whether I shall have charity enough to pray God forgive them that prove the occasion of it. How all this is received in Court or country, I should be glad to know from your Lordship: for, after all the compliments made me here upon it, I am from thence to judge what I may have deserved by the infinite, perpetual trouble and application it has forced me upon since I came over.

I send your Lordship a copy inclosed of my dispatch this day to Mr. Secretary; which Mr. Meredith resolves first to put into your Lordship's hands: and whatever other observances you can receive from him, I am sure will be rendered to your Lordship there and here, upon this and all other occasions: since he can have learned nothing else, in the house of a person that is, and ever shall be, with a constant and equal passion and truth, my Lord, your, &c.

To the King.

Hague, July 25, N. S. 1678.

May it please your Majesty,

HAVING, since my coming last over, not only drawn all things here to a head, but this day reduced them into form, and signed a treaty with the States, ac-

cording to my instructions, upon their consent to all the four points given me in charge; I presume your Majesty will find it as much to your satisfaction, as all persons here believe it to the honour and greatness of your crown: which is all I shall say upon a subject, wherein I have had so much part myself. However, you will not, I hope, be displeased to know, that this affair so ended, has left the Prince of Orange, in his own opinion, a happy man; and in all others here, a great Prince once more: this state being more fallen in than ever with his Highness, and both of them more than ever into a dependance upon your Majesty. I pray God, you may use so great a conjuncture, so as may be most for your own glory and felicity, as well as those of your crowns; and then I have my end and my reward.

Having charged Mr. Meredith, your Majesty's Secretary of the embassy here, with the delivery of the treaty, and my dispatch to Mr. Secretary Williamson; I could not but give him this occasion of laying himself at your Majesty's feet, and ask your pardon for the long troubles I have been forced to give your Majesty, since my arrival here; as well as assure you at the same time, that no man alive can be with a sincerer truth or greater devotion, than I am, and shall be ever, Sir, your Majesty's most loyal, and most obedient subject and servant.

To Mr. Hyde.

My Lord, Hague, July 29, N. S. 1678.

I HEARD by your servants here, that you were grown to be so ill at Court, as to be gone down into the country to a scurvy piece of land you had bought there; and I, like a true courtier, upon this news, would not take the pains to write to a man whose

affairs went so ill: but for fear my intelligence should prove as false as what Monsieur d'Estrades had received of late from Amsterdam; and that you should not only be well at Court still, but the land you went to see, should prove to be one of the best manors of England; I could no longer omit assuring your Excellency of my humble services, and of the joy wherewith I shall either obey your commands here, or receive your protection at Nimeguen, as his Majesty's order shall either keep me in this place, or call us both thither; of which I have yet no certain prospect.

Now I have made you my scurvy compliments, if you please, we will leave them all off; and in the common style of friends, I will first tell you, that I have had the good luck to end the business with which his Majesty charged me here, extremely to the Prince of Orange's satisfaction, and as much to that of the States; excepting some few, who, by shewing their discontent at it, have discovered themselves to be too plainly and too deep in the French interest, to be looked upon any longer as dealers here. Now, I would be glad to know from you, as a friend, and not as a Minister, what is said or thought of it at Court, and whether they continue in the mind I left them; or what points the wind may have tacked about since; and what my Lord Sunderland's business at present is into France: which is the great subject of talk and reflections here. I would be glad likewise to know your conjectures there, whether France will come to the peace or no, without refusing any longer to evacuate the towns, which is the present wager current at Amsterdam; and my Lord Ambassador Jenkins, according to the lights of Nimeguen, was absolutely of opinion yesterday they would.

There never was so desolate a place as the Hague at this time: and yet I was content the Prince

should go, because I never saw any body go in so good humour, as both he and all about him, upon the conclusion made here the night before; by which his friends take him to make a greater figure than ever he did since he came to the government: but this will depend in some measure too upon the figure he will make in Flanders; where I have no very good opinion of the relief of Mons, upon the joining of Mareschal Humieres and Schomberg with the Duke of Luxemburg: of all which you will sooner receive an account by Flanders than from hence, where we have had, since Monday last, a perfect vacation of all affairs; so that you shall have no farther trouble beyond the assurances of my being ever, and truly, your, &c.

I gave Mr. Meredith order to wait upon you from me, and to give you any accounts you desired of all that had passed here.

To Mr. Godolphin.

Sir, Hague, July 29, N. S. 1678.

I HAD not time to write to you by Mr. Meredith, which was due not only to you, but to the inclosure of a letter the Prince had given me for you, upon the assurance that I intended to write to you by that dispatch. All I could do then, was to order Mr. Meredith to wait upon you particularly from me; and both assure you of my service, and give you an account you cared for being troubled with, of my late negotiation here. I knew you were so much a friend of the Prince, as to be glad of what he was so much pleased, and all about him so exalted with here; because they never took him to be in so great credit or authority, as upon the conclusion of this business; and thereby the dependence of this State being wholly cast upon England,

which was just upon the point of being thrown into France: and thereby leaving the Prince in such a figure, as I believe would have broke his heart, if it had proved without remedy. What you say or think of it on that side, I am yet to know, and whether you continue in the mind I left you, or how the weather has changed. And though you promised to have my statue set up, if I could bring this State to take their measures with us before we had declared the war, especially upon the point of prohibiting commerce; yet after that and all other points attained perfectly to his Majesty's mind, I will only expect that you keep me from being hanged up in effigy, if all should be changed, and my Lord Sunderland should have more to do in France, than I have here. That is the present subject of wise talk in this place: and as both Mr. Hyde and you concluded with me at my coming away, that one great ground of the ill and hasty paces made here of late to a peace, was, the belief they were in of ours in England; so, I believe, you will conclude with me, that if we let this knot slip but once more, it is never to be retrieved again; and they will run into France without any stop, upon a disdain of all our conduct in England, and the despair of our proving constant to their interest, or our own. In short, the King is once more at the head of all the affairs in Christendom: what use he will make of it is in his own hands and those of his Ministers and servants that are about him. Among whom, as I know no man that wishes better at heart to his Majesty and his kingdoms, than you do; so, I am sure, no man can wish better to you, in all points, than I do; nor more desire the occasions of expressing the sincere truth and passion, as well as esteem, wherewith I am and shall be always, Sir, your, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord, Hague, August 1, N. S. 1678.

SINCE my arrival here, I have had the hardest pinch of business that ever befel me in my life. I have concluded and signed a treaty between his Majesty and the States; by which he is obliged to enter into the war, and they to continue it, and not make peace without much greater conditions, if France does not agree to those the States accepted (about a month since) by the 11th of this month. The Prince would not stir till this treaty was signed, believing all his own interests, and the greatest of the Crown of England, to depend upon it. After it was done, he went away immediately to the army; a great Prince in all others opinions, and a happy one in his own; which he had been far from in both for some months past. The French have used all the artifices imaginable to hinder these measures between us, and to take them separately with this State, in our exclusion, and even that of the Prince of Orange. Their last was two days since, by a memorial of their Ambassadors at Nimeguen, offering that the King of France would advance himself as far as St. Quintin, to meet any Deputies the States would send thither, and treat with them in person. The States having yesterday considered with me upon it, have refused the offer; desired a positive answer upon evacuating the places in Flanders, and let the French Ambassadors know, they should not be many days *en leur entier* to receive it. This is a strange change of style in the world, and the King is once more at the head of affairs in Christendom. What use we shall make of this conjuncture, is in the stars: your Grace and I will not venture to guess, considering how well we know our Court: but I am sure we

shall join in our wishes; and mine shall ever be, for the good health and good fortunes that your Grace can propose to yourself; since no man can be with greater passion nor truth, than I am, and shall be ever, my Lord, your Grace's, &c.

To Mr. Secretary Williamson.

Sir, Hague, August 1, N. S. 1678.

YESTERDAY, about noon, came an express from Sir Lionel Jenkins, bringing me the inclosed memorial, inviting the States to send their Deputies to St. Quintin, in Picardy; where his most Christian Majesty will in person meet with them. I looked upon it as a resolution in France grounded upon advices from hence; as believing that so great a condescension as this of his most Christian Majesty could not but give new life to Monsieur Pats and his party; that the effect of it would be, to draw this State into a negotiation, not only separate from all their allies, but even from all offices or intervention of his Majesty, as mediator; and make way for some of the considerable persons of this State to take particular measures with the Court of France.

This morning Monsieur Van Lewen was with me, and we discoursed of this new memorial. He said, the thing seemed of the same piece with all that had come of late from France; and to be all but an amusement, while he pursued the taking of Mons, and the hopes that this State would still fall into some expedient, in the point of evacuating the places. That he was of opinion, the States would make some reflection upon this new offer; particularly the French Ambassadors at Nimeguen having said to the States, that, by this way of treating, affairs might be more advanced in twenty-four hours, than in as many days by other hands. He told me,

that the States General had resolved, that their Commissioners for secret affairs should come to me, and ask my opinion upon this new proposition; which he (Monsieur Van Lewen) desired to know before-hand.

I told him, I was sure sending to St. Quintin could do no good; since, if they were resolved, as he said they were, to insist upon the evacuation of the towns, without farther expedient, that might be better done at Nimeguen. That, besides, it would be less respect to a great King, to draw him so far in person, only to receive a peremptory message from them, without instructions to treat, or fall into temperaments upon it. That, thirdly, since before the treaty signed with his Majesty, they had resolved not to send to Paris, nor Ghent, I thought, since the treaty concluded, they could not send to St. Quintin, and thereby exclude his Majesty from any part in the negotiation, either as mediator, or otherwise, without his Majesty's consent; which could not be had but by sending into England, since I had no instructions upon this new incident. That this could not be performed within the time prefixed in the treaty, of the 11th of this month: and, therefore, my opinion was, that they should answer this memorial by another short one from their Ambassadors at Nimeguen, expressing, that they should come to no new negotiations, without the communication and consent of his Majesty, with whom they had entered into measures upon the late incident in the negotiation of the peace. I told Monsieur Van Lewen, that this was *le grand et le beau chemin;* and that I did not see how they could take any other, considering their ties to his Majesty and Spain, who had joined them in accepting the peace.

Monsieur Van Lewen fell in with my opinion, but could not pretend to guess what the advice of

the several towns would be upon it: after this he left me. I then began to reflect, what issue this affair would have had, in case the treaty had not been signed before it came; which it must not have been if I had first received your orders of the 16th current; by which I found his Majesty insisted upon the prohibition of commerce to be made a part of the treaty, by particular article, or convention; which, the Prince, Pensioner, and Commissioners told me, could not be any ways hoped for from the province of Holland, so as upon it the treaty must, of necessity, have demurred; which imported as much as the whole issue of this negotiation, in case it had not been concluded before the Prince left this place.

While I was in these last thoughts, and had pursued my letter as far as this last period, I received yours of the 11th, upon the late treaty's having been produced before his Majesty, at a foreign committee, with so many faults laid to my charge in this transaction, that I have reason to be as much mortified as you can wish me; though you are pleased to say, some of the faults you find are without present order.

The three chief points you have orders to except to, and to desire a change, or elucidation upon them, I will answer as well as I can.

As to that of commerce; I was left, by the large period upon it in my instructions, to more liberty than I have taken; and the Prince, Pensioner, and Commissioners all assured me, it was not to be gained by convention before-hand; but would certainly follow upon this resolution of the States, and last as long as the war: and the Prince took upon him to hinder the failing of it from the Emperor, or Spain; though that clause was put in to keep them up to the rigour of the said prohibition.

For that of the concert of the forces, I told you

the Commissioners said, it would be agreed to in very few days here: and I charged my secretary to let you know, that they had agreed upon it, by provision, in that very number of land-forces I had before mentioned: and I resolved, upon the return of the Pensioner here to town, to come to a specification between us of them, both at land and sea; so that I could never have imagined this as an omission; since I was tied to nothing in my instructions, farther than the proportions of three to two.

For that of the restriction to Europe, I must confess it a fault, since you say it is found so: but I told you then, it was a point I had no light given me in at all from you or any body else in England: that all the practices I had ever had there, confirmed me in it, as well as the Pensioner, who told me, this State had never made any treaty that extended beyond Europe.

Thus, I confess, I thought I had followed my instructions upon all these points, and did not act with so much punctilious caution as I ought, it may be, to have done; for the conjuncture was so critical, and to be concluded before the Prince's going, or else to be lost, which was to decide whether this State should fall into a dependence upon England or France.

This is a point the French value, and pursue at another rate, of which there needs no other testimony than this *demarche* of St. Quintin.

But since the greatest service I could ever hope to do his Majesty, or the Crown of England, proves to be a fault, I humbly ask his Majesty's pardon; and shall learn hereafter to tie myself as strictly to my orders, as a clerk of the office ought to do, since I find so severe a lash hang over me: though I am, I confess, of opinion, that no Prince, or State, can ever tie up so strictly, either a General, or an Am-

bassador, or give them reason to act in perpetual fear, without losing the greatest occasions in the world, either in treaties, or in war. And so I end this unpleasant subject, and am, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, August 2, N. S. 1678.

Last night I acquainted the Pensioner with what had passed between me and the Commissioners, and the resolution we were come to; which was, that it was not fit to send to St. Quintin, and they could not do it without the participation of England.

He said, it was very well; and that this artifice of France, as it was the last, so it was the greatest; and that we had but this blow to ward: that if our treaty had not been concluded, he should have been in pain, but did not fear now; and said, the States of Holland were to assemble upon it this morning.

This morning at five I received a letter from the Prince, expressing the greatest pain in the world upon this last memorial at Nimeguen; desiring me to do all that was possible to hinder any deputation to St. Quintin or Ghent, and to speak myself to all persons here, that I thought would be inclined to it. At five the Pensioner came to me, and gave me an account of the resolution being taken both in the States of Holland, and after in the States General, upon the French memorial: that they could not send to St. Quintin or Ghent, having nothing at all to propose: that they desired the French answer, positive, upon the point of evacuating the places, and signing the peace: that they should not be many days *en leur entier* to receive it: and this to be sent to the French Ambassadors at Nimeguen, with a private letter to the Dutch Ambassadors, to

let them know, that the 11th of this month was the last day they should be able to attend their answer.

He told me, all this was agreed unanimously at last; though some insisted long upon writing a letter to the most Christian King; but not that itself, without first asking my consent to it; deferring as much as was possible to the measures they had taken with England.

He was in so good humour upon this occasion, that I thought I could never have a better to put him upon giving his Majesty the satisfaction you desire in those points of the treaty: and so I pressed him upon it in the way you order me.

Upon the first of commerce, his answer was, *Qu'il étoit impossible de le faire par convention, mais qu'il étoit aussi impossible que cela pût manquer pendant la guerre, & qu'il m'en assûreroit, cette resolution des Etats ne pouvoit être changée sans une nouvelle; & il pouvoit toûjours empecher cette nouvelle resolution.*

For the concert of forces, he said, that by the 11th of this month, when we should see whether it were war or peace, the States would enter with me into a specification of forces for sea and land; and that he thought forty ships would be the utmost that they should furnish at present: that according as occasion should happen, there would be other concerts hereafter.

For the third, for the *guarantée mutuelle* beyond Europe, he said, that he would not say positively, that in the treaty, according as you alleged, there was not such a clause, because of the extremity they were in when Spain engaged with them; but confessed he had told me this State never engaged beyond Europe: that if it were so, he would use all the endeavours he could to have it done: but considering the strength and populousness of our

bassador, or give them reason to act
fear, without losing the greatest o
world, either in treaties, or in wa
this unpleasant subject, and am

To Sir Joseph

Sir,

Last night I acquainte
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He said, it
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...th any thing
post to Mr. Secre-
...se I know you have your
... only tell you, that after all the
...e been given me here upon the per-
... the last treaty, and among all the ac-
...s given this last post from England, of his
...ajesty's and the general satisfaction upon it there;
I received a letter from Secretary Williamson, that
found twenty faults with it, and allows nothing in
it that was good. I was the more surprised, be-
cause your Lordship had let me know the post be-
fore, that every thing stood upon the same foot it
did when I left England; and I had observed, that
our forces were since come over into Flanders; by
which, and by the French demarches here and at
Nimeguen, where they take no notice of his Ma-
jesty's mediation in all that passes between them
and the Dutch, I concluded all confidence irrepa-

between us and France; especially the
oops there succeeding their instances
them at home. All this considered,
ine there could have been no good
w the dependence of this State
and cast it upon England, in
nd about which his Majesty
I left him. I concluded,
Secretary Williamson;
accordingly, and justi-
f there was a fault, it
s of his instructions,
v, and upon which
and Sir Lionel
ship too, upon
ctions the post
ar declaring the war,
about here, and was fain
uld. His words are these, of
as to the time of his Majesty's de-
e war, that, you know, is to be taken
the time of the signing the treaty; and not at all to depend on the time set for the French's refusal of this farther offer, otherwise than as that shall relate to the concluding of the proposed treaty between his Majesty and Holland.' My secretary and I were both very long busy, not to find out the sense, but his own meaning of it, and were fain to give it absolutely over, which happened to me so often, that it is nothing new from that hand. These lashes and mortifications are as little so too, having very often befallen me from him; but never once from my Lord Arlington, Secretary Trevor, or Secretary Coventry, in ten years service under their correspondence. I should be very glad to know from your Lordship, whether I am mistaken or no, in believing this usage personal from him: for, if it be from his Majesty, I shall take it for another

sign, and make another use of it. In the mean time, I beg your Lordship to take care that my instructions may be clear hereafter, or, at least, intelligible; for I am resolved to do nothing without them, let what will happen. One thing more I beg your Lordship to get altered by his Majesty's command; which is, that I may have constant advice from one of the Secretary's office, of all that passes in England; at least, what can relate to affairs here. I believe, no Ambassador before ever failed of at least a paper of occurrences every post; and, in all the time I have been here, I have not received one line; so that I knew neither of my Lord Sunderland's going, my Lord Feversham's, nor the Marquis Burgomaine's, otherwise than by the Deputies or other Ministers here; much less of Du Cros's overture in England, that the towns should be restored by France, in case this State would give their guaranty, that none of the allies should assist the enemies of Sweden. I mention this because, though it be as impracticable as other things of that kind that have come from France, yet it has made a great buz among half-witted people here, when it came to be considered upon this last memorial of the French, whether any expedient could be offered by France in the point of evacuating the towns.

The wise conclude all to be artifice, and never a greater, than this offer of the most Christian King, to come in person to St. Quintin, to meet and treat with the Deputies of this State. They consider the consequence of such a King's cajoling, or his Minister's corrupting, any that should go; but chiefly of amusing these people so far as to break the times, and thereby the measures, concluded with us. They believe the bottom of all to be the amusing either us, or Holland, till upon the approach of winter, and the German armies going

into quarters, they may draw all their forces out of Germany, and make one push for the conquest of Flanders. In the mean time, that which is sown by them here with such industry, is first, that nothing can defend this State and country from all its neighbours but France; nor, consequently, give them perpetual peace and trade: then, that France can never have any design upon their liberty, because they can make more use of their men and ships, while they are great and flourishing, than they can do by their growing weak and poor; which must follow the conquering and suppressing their liberties. Then, that they are no rival to them in trade, which England is, and must ever be; and that all the danger to their liberties is from his Majesty and the Prince of Orange, upon concert between them, in relation to England and this country: and now, lastly, upon this incident at Nimeguen, they say, it all arose only upon a visit made by Count Oxenstern to the French Ambassadors, when they were ready to sign the peace; desiring them, it might not be done without a provision for Sweden: and that no surprise could be greater, than that of the King of France, when he heard the peace was delayed by that incident. In short, they are extreme sensible of having made a horrible ill pace, and would fain recover it, but find it very difficult, and, I believe, will not be able, unless we help them; which, whether we shall or no, your Lordship best knows.

I send you the last French memorial in print; for the same day they communicated it to the Dutch Ambassadors, they dispersed numerous printed copies among all these Provinces. I send your Lordship likewise a peculiar printed sort of Gazette, which comes out every post, but only into few and particular hands; but this is the shrewdest pen, and the best informed, that ever I met with. I am

ever, with the same passion and truth, my Lord, your, &c.

I am very well content his Majesty may see this letter, and judge upon it, how I am like to serve him in the circumstances I stand with the Secretary's office.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, August 5, N. S. 1678.

THE Pensioner having been with me, I have discoursed him upon the points which you said his Majesty would have insisted upon; and he promises all the best offices to bring them about; but said, that his Majesty would not be much concerned for the amendments in these points, if it were a peace; which, for his part, he did not at all doubt of; and therefore desired me to endeavour that nothing might be stirred before the ratification, upon which he took the peace to depend. I asked him, what made him think so? He replied, he would tell me in confidence, that Monsieur Sylvercroon had been with him the day before, to let him know that the Swedish Ambassadors had written to the French King, to desire him not to hinder the peace of Christendom any longer, by insisting upon the restitution of Sweden before the evacuation of the towns; and that they expected an answer from France upon it within two or three days. That hereupon he, the Pensioner, concluded, France was resolved to make the peace, and evacuate the towns; for he was very sure France and Sweden understood one another; that the last made no pace without the direction and consent of the other. He said, Monsieur Sylvercroon had spoken to him of it, as a thing done; and said upon it, that he hoped now the peace was made, and that this State would not *acroche* it upon the neutrality of Cleves and Juli-

ers. That he, the Pensioner, had told him, that was a point the State had come to no resolution in, but only to order their Ambassadors at Nimeguen, to use all the most pressing offices they could with the French Ambassadors upon it; but that there were four of the provinces resolved not to have the peace without it; and, for his part, he would cry against it all he could. He desired to know his Majesty's thoughts upon it, and that I would write and represent to his Majesty the importance of this matter; and that, in the mean time, the peace must take its course without it.

About nine o'clock this morning arrived Mr. Meredith, with new instructions from his Majesty, grounded upon an intimation of Monsieur du Cros, as is there expressed. Soon after Monsieur du Cros himself came to me, and told me the whole story of his proposition. He enlarged upon his Majesty's great bounty to the Crown of Sweden, by yielding to every one of the points which he had proposed to his Majesty in his memorial; and concluded with the joy he should have in seeing me so soon at Nimeguen, to second the assurances he was to give the Swedish Ambassadors upon this occasion.

I told him, that the intentions of his journey and mine had already been prevented by the Swedish Ambassadors having of themselves made that pace towards the peace, which he pretended to bring them to by his Majesty's concessions. Upon this, Monsieur du Cros looked extremely surprised; but recovering himself, said, he did believe the letters he writ to the French Ambassadors, the post before he came away, might have had that effect, as to make them do the thing before he came: but it was *dans le veûe de quelque chose qu'ils esperoient d'Angleterre:* but, by comparing times, I found that could not be.

He seemed very unresolved upon all these dis-

courses, whether he should go to Nimeguen or not; and asked me what I intended to do? I answered, I should not resolve to stir, without first giving an account to Court of the matter as it stood. So we parted; and he went, about five this afternoon, towards Nimeguen.

I cannot but take notice, that some of his Majesty's concessions in Du Cros's memorial, are of as great importance as can be to the Crown of England; as the third and fourth, concerning the liberty not only of levying our mariners and soldiers, but of buying our ships and men of war.

What effect Monsieur du Cros's discourses may have here, I cannot tell, as to the peace; but as to his Majesty's measures and intentions to it, they have, I am sure, had a very ill one. For my part, I neither understand the counsels upon which they were grounded, nor will pretend to judge of the event.

About seven in the afternoon, I spoke with the Pensioner again, and communicated to him my new instructions. He said, there would be no difficulty as to the neutrality of the enemies of Sweden, nor as to those of the allies, who accepted not the peace with France. Then, he said, the State had sent to Nimeguen their answer, by which they could not send to St. Quintin; and upon the communication of it to the French, Monsieur Colbert had fallen into the greatest *emportement* in the world, and particularly against Monsieur Beverning.

Sir Lionel Jenkins writes me word, that the French take so little notice of his Majesty's mediation there, that he has not heard one syllable from them since they gave him their conditions of the 14th of April. I send Mr. Aglionby away with this dispatch, considering the importance of it: besides, that this gentleman having attended the whole motion of this affair ever since my coming

over, will be able to give his Majesty a very particular account of all the steps that have been made in it, and of all that can be known from this scene. I am ever, &c.

From Pensioner Fagel.

Hague, August 6,
Sir, 1678.

HAVING well considered the orders which your Excellency communicated to me by direction of the King your Master, and knowing that this State will never put the issue of the peace upon the foot of the neutrality of Cleves; and that you have no orders in this point from the King your Master: that this State will not carry on the war with vigour, without the exceeding unreasonableness of France in refusing to evacuate the places, be made appear, as it will when Sweden has consented to it: that the King your Master also will not concur in carrying it on but on this condition, as appears plainly by this step, and by the difficulties which your Court have made to ratify the treaty, without such alterations as can never be consented to here: that Du Cros is well acquainted with your instructions: and that Sylvercroon has already published what they are here, as the other is going to do at Nimeguen; and that, perhaps, with some circumstances worse than they really contain: that Sweden seeming willing already to bate something of their pretensions, and France therefore appearing desirous to make the peace; it

De par le Pensionnaire Fagel.

A la Haye, le 6 Aoust,
Monsieur, 1678.

Ayant consideré les ordres que vôtre Excellence m'a communiquée de la part du Roy vôtre Maître, & voyant que cet Etat n'acrochera pas la paix sur la neutralité de Cleves, & que vous n'avez pas aucun ordre là dessus de la part du Roy vôtre Maître; que cet Etat ne soûtiendra pas la guerre avec vigueur, sans que la France soit mise dans son dernier tort par les refus d'evacuer les places, ce qu' arrivera quand la Suede y aura consenti: que la Roy vôtre Maître ne le fera pas aussi sans cela, comme il paroît par cette demarche, & par les difficultez que vôtre Cour a fait de ratifier le traité, sans des changemens qu'on ne peut pas faire icy: que Du Cros a scû vôtre depêche, & que Sylvercroon l'a deja debité ici comme l'autre va faire à Nimegue, & avec de circonstances pût être plus mauvaises qu'il ne contient: que la Suede semblant deja se deporter de leurs pretensions, & par là, la France paroissant de vouloir faire la paix, il sera bon que cet Etât aye encore cette obligation à l'Angleterre, ce qui servira à continuer les liaisons entre nous apres la paix, qui est une chose de la derniere importance pour les interêts de sa Majesté, cet Etat, & le Prince. Je

is for the service of this State to owe the doing of it rather to England, which will serve to continue and strengthen our mutual obligations after the peace; which is a matter of the last consequence to the interests of his Majesty, of this State, and of the Prince. For all these reasons, I think it absolutely necessary for the general good of Christendom, and for the common interest of each nation, that your Excellency should without delay repair to Nimeguen, according to the orders you have received. I am your Excellency's most humble and most obedient servant,

Gasp. Fagel.

croy pour toutes ces raisons, qu'il est absolument necessaire, tant pour le bien commun de la Chrétienté, que pour leurs interêts, que vôtre Excellence parte au plûtôt pour Nimegue, ensuite des ordres qu'elle a reçeu. Je suis, de V. E. le très humble & très obeïssant serviteur,

Gasp. Fagel.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Nimeguen, August 9, N. S. 1678.

In humble obedience to his Majesty's express commands, I, Sir William Temple, came hither at seven o'clock last night: immediately upon my arrival, Monsieur de Balba sent to know whether he might make me a visit, which I consented to, and he came accordingly.

His discourse consisted of his hopes that I brought a good peace along with me; his desires to hear whether the treaty at the Hague were ratified or no; and his complaints that the French, notwithstanding the Swedes having desisted, yet still refused to sign the peace. That, for his part, he could not be sorry for it; for though he should have signed it, if they had consented, yet, after having signed a peace so destructive to Christendom, he should have retired himself from all public business for the rest of his life.

Upon the enquiring the occasion of my coming,

I told him, as I have done every body else, that having been assured at the Hague that the Swedes here having desisted from their pretensions of being restored before the evacuation of the places, and the French having always professed that difficulty to have been raised wholly upon their occasion, I made no question but the peace would be immediately signed; and thereupon came hither upon his Majesty's orders, that I should be present at the conclusion of it.

Upon the Marquis's going out, my colleague, Sir Lionel Jenkins, came in to me; and being surprised at the unexpectedness of my arrival, and I asking him whether he knew nothing of it? he said, Nothing, but from the talk of a confident man lately arrived here; who had given out he had brought the peace in his pocket, and orders for Sir William Temple to come with him to Nimeguen.

Hereupon I shewed my colleague my instructions, which you last sent me, grounded upon Monsieur du Cros's proposition: he told me the thing was done before I came: that the Swedes had not only desisted from their pretensions, but that the French had owned it in their memorial on Sunday last, and declared, that upon it their Master desisted from detaining the towns: but, however, that he (my colleague) did not find the peace was much the nearer, since the French Ambassadors did still refuse to sign it, and persisted that the Dutch should send to treat and conclude it, either with the King their master in person, or with the Deputies at Ghent: whereupon, consulting with my colleague, we concluded together that we should not say any thing to the Swedish Ambassadors of what your last instructions imported, unless they spoke to me of it, and seemed to expect it from me; in regard that whatever his Majesty intended should be done by the Swedes towards the

evacuation of the towns, had been already fully done by them: and that no declaration of his Majesty's instructions to me was meant, or could tend to this new difficulty raised by France, about the Dutch deputing to the most Christian King, or to his Deputies at Ghent.

The next visit I received was at nine this morning from the Danish Ambassador, whose discourse was chiefly upon the occasion of my journey hither; upon the ground it may give to the Dutch, of receiving otherwise this proposal from France, than they might possibly have done if I had been at the Hague; upon the liberty Monsieur du Cros had taken here, of *proning* the instructions he brought from his Majesty, and the credit he had at our Court; which he, the Ambassador, thought very strange, considering what he passed for at theirs, where he was sufficiently known. And thereupon he gave me a character of the man, which I will not trouble you with.

After the Dane's leaving me, the Swedish Ambassadors came in: their discourse consisted in valuing the generous pace they had made, of desisting from their pretensions, since those alone seemed so much to retard the peace.

They said, that though they reckoned upon the good offices of Holland after the peace, as well as upon the assistances of France towards their restitution; yet their chief confidence was in the good intentions of his Majesty towards their Crown; of which they had received so good testimonies upon all occasions.

Hereupon they began to discourse of the last French memorial, and made their particular reflections upon two passages in it. The first, that France seemed to intend that they, the Swedes, should owe their restitution to the measures that France should take with Holland upon that occa-

sion; whereas their chief hopes were from his Majesty; and they had very little from Holland, beside their common offices, after the peace was made. The next was from the last words of the memorial; by which it appears, that France intended to treat and conclude the peace with the Deputies of the States, in a place where there was like to be no Minister from Sweden; which, they say, they did not very well understand; nor thought they had reason to be satisfied with what the French Ambassadors told them upon it, that the King their master's intention was, the peace should be signed at Nimeguen, though it were concluded at St. Quintin.

All that I answered to these discourses was my compliments upon the declaration they had made, of desisting from their pretensions, rather than hindering the peace of Christendom; and the assurances that I had orders to give them of his Majesty's good intentions towards their Crown. And here our discourse was like to end; when I resolved to make some mention of Monsieur du Cros, to find out what they would say upon it; and what the true ground had been of his journey and mine hither.

I told them, that I was in hopes to have found the peace ready to be signed here when I came. For besides the assurances the Pensioner had given me and Monsieur Sylvercroon, at the Hague, of their Excellencies having desisted from their pretensions, which had difficulted the peace, I heard that Monsieur du Cros had said upon the way hither, that he carried the peace in his pocket, and that he brought express orders to them (the Swedes Ambassadors) which they had not before.

Monsieur Oxenstern said very gravely to this, *Asseurément nous n'avons pas agi par des ordres qui nous ont été portés par M. du Cros:* but Mon-

sieur Olivecrans, smiling, said, *Monsieur, pour ce qui est de la vanité, il faut pardonner à Monsieur du Cros, puisque vous savez qu'il est garçon.* I told them hereupon, that Monsieur du Cros had told both me and Monsieur du Sylvercroon, that the declaration made by the Swedish Ambassadors here had been grounded upon the assurances that his Majesty had given particularly to Monsieur du Cros in England. Monsieur Olivecrans replied a little warmly, *Monsieur, vous me pardonneras, cela a été fondé sur les assûrances que le Roy m'a donnés devant que de partir de Londres.*

By these lights, I suppose, you will be able to unriddle better than I can do here, what hath been the true bottom of all this intrigue.

After the Swedes left me, the Dutch Ambassadors came in; and presently after them, as we had concerted together, came Sir Lionel Jenkins. They fell presently into discourse of the last French memorial; in which, they said, they could find little more than in the former, but that it was a transposition of words. For, whereas they had said before, they would not evacuate the towns without restitution to Sweden; they now say, they will evacuate the towns; but they will first treat and agree with the Dutch about the satisfaction of Sweden.

They said, the first period was clear, and that upon it they offered to sign the peace: but the French refused, saying, that though their memorial consisted of three periods, yet they were to be taken *pour une chose toute d'une suite.*

The next remark they made, was upon the words *toutes les places,* in the first period. Which word *toutes,* they found, upon search, never to have been in any of their memorials or letters before. And they observed the meaning of it might be, that though they desisted from the design of retaining

all the places, yet they did not from that of retaining some of them: and the words, if you please to observe them, seem to bear it.

Monsieur Beverning said farther, that when he offered to sign the peace, and said that they should not be many days longer at liberty, *à cause de leurs engagemens:* the French replied, *Vous vous fiez à vos engagemens, Messieurs; et le Roy a deux cent mille hommes qu'il a bien payé.* They told them farther, that his Majesty hath such treaties with France, that would keep him from performing *ce que Monsieur Temple a stipulé à la Haye.* Whereto Monsieur Colbert added, *Et pourquoy Monsieur Temple ne vient-il pas? il a les ordres du Roy son Maître de revenir icy, aussi ne fait-il à la Haye que du mal.*

After, they concluded that the design of France was to draw this business into a particular negotiation between them and the States, without either the Swede of the one side, or their allies of the other; and without England too; and by that means to hinder them from the assistance either of their allies or of us. That by these memorials about deputations to France, and by their artifices in scattering copies of them as soon as they were delivered, they hoped to prevent the measures between us and Holland; and to draw out time while they pursued the siege of Mons, and while England should grow weary of keeping up their forces; which they knew a Parliament would not be willing to pay for a peace, though they would for a war. Mr. Haran added, *il n'y a personne si aveugle qui ne voit tous ces artifices.* They both wished very much that I Sir William Temple were now at the Hague, because they doubted what effect this memorial of France might have upon them there when they should see, in the first period of it, a declara-

tion of the French to evacuate the towns, but not consider that which follows.

The first visit I Sir William Temple received this afternoon was from Count Kinski; whose chief discourse was in extolling the force of England, which had appeared so much in his Majesty's late arming so powerfully, in so short a time; saying, that if the King pleased he was arbiter of the world, and might be so of this peace here, if he thought fit.

That for their part (meaning the Imperial Ambassadors) in it, all that he would say was, that they were sent thither *pour traiter, et non pas pour recevoir des loix;* but that the French understood it otherwise; and that nothing had passed between them, since the French published the conditions, upon which they would make the peace in the beginning of April last: since which time they had often offered to treat upon them, but the French excused themselves; and, for their parts, they were resolved not to receive those conditions without treating upon them.

Next to Count Kinski came to me the Brandenburgh Ambassadors, whose discourses were either compliment, or politic upon the affairs of Holland: how near the Prince was being absolutely lost there about three months ago; and how much he was recovered since this last incident from France, about the evacuating of the towns.

The next hours of five, six, and seven this afternoon were given to the three French Ambassadors, who had been the last to demand it of me, having been yesterday out of town at my arrival. All passed with a great compliment and kindness; besides which, Monsieur d'Estrades endeavoured to shew, that all the sincerity in the world had been of his Master's side, but that all had been artificial on the part of the States; but especially on Monsieur Be-

verning's, who, he said, was *trop habile homme*, and always found some specious thing or other to hinder the peace; by which the French found that the States absolutely had no mind to it, how much soever his Master desires it.

Monsieur Colbert's whole discourse was, how the incident touching the towns proceeded wholly from Monsieur Oxenstern: how the most Christian King could not in honour refuse it to an ally; though he (Monsieur Colbert) thought it much against his Master's interest, and more against that of Sweden: that his Master had desisted immediately upon the Swedes desisting by their declaration, which was made to them here, July 26th, N. S.

This made me reflect upon what Monsieur du Cros would have sold so dear to his Majesty, after that the Swedish Ambassadors had given the point here, and, as Monsieur Olivecrans said, upon the assurances his Majesty had given him before he came last from London; but, as others interpret it here, from the fears that, in case the war went on this summer, the Dutch would lend their fleet to the allies, to beat the Swedes clearly out of Pomerania.

I remember nothing in Monsieur d'Avaux's visit, beside the ordinary things that passed in those of his colleagues.

About eight o'clock the Dutch Ambassadors came to us both a second time, and said, they had orders from their Masters to communicate to us the answer they had newly received from them to the French memorial of Sunday last: which was, in short, that they were ready to sign the peace, and should be so till to-morrow was past: after which they should be at liberty no longer in regard of their engagements with his Majesty: but that if they (the French Ambassadors) would sign the

peace, their Masters the States, after it was signed (to shew their respects to the most Christian King), would send their Ambassadors not only to St. Quintin, but to Paris.

The time being thus short, and expiring to-morrow at twelve at night, they told us they should go straight from us to acquaint the French Ambassadors, by word of mouth, with this answer of the States; intending to give it to them to-morrow more extensively in writing. We are always, Sir, your most faithful humble servants,

W. Temple.
L. Jenkins.

To Mr. Secretary Williamson.

Sir, Hague, Aug. 16, N. S. 1678.

On Saturday last, in the evening, I received yours of the 30th past, at Nimeguen, with his Majesty's orders to exchange the ratifications of the late treaty here; upon which, you are pleased to say, his Majesty put so much weight. I found, upon computation, that yesterday, being Monday, was the last day allowed for the exchange of the said ratifications; and resolved to part by three o'clock next morning, that I might not fail of arriving here in time; which I did about seven o'clock yesterday morning, after having been all night upon the way. I immediately spoke to the Pensioner, and acquainted him with my orders to exchange the ratifications, and of what you command me to let him know here, of his Majesty's intention upon it; which was, that I should still endeavour to procure an amendment of those points in the treaty, against which his Majesty has made exception; though he had not thought fit to delay the ratification upon it, both for the infinite consequence of the business, and his great zeal to support the

interests in question; upon which grounds he had chosen rather to rely upon the States for obtaining those points after the ratification, than to delay it upon them.

The Pensioner seemed extremely pleased that the ratifications are come, and that I had orders to exchange them; which he desired might be done in form at ten o'clock. As to the points still insisted on, he said, he would not fail of acquainting the States with them at such times, and in such manner, as he thought would conduce most to the success of them, and thereby to his Majesty's satisfaction; though he conceived, since a peace was like to follow, his Majesty would find no necessity of insisting upon them for the present; and his Majesty's ratification would have much more force and credit here, if it came barely to the States without those circumstances, after the fears they had been in of his Majesty's not ratifying the treaty.

After this he fell immediately to speak of the peace that had been lately signed at Nimeguen; and with great trouble in his face, and I believe at heart, when I said, *Il faut avoüer qu'elle est belle, principalement ayant été signée sans l'Espagne;* he replied, It was true; but that this last would never have been done without Monsieur du Cros's journey, and his *debiting* both here and at Nimeguen, that his Majesty was resolved not to come to a rupture with France, but had taken his measures absolutely with them upon the peace; and that orders were sent over to my Lord Sunderland to that purpose. I told him, I discovered, by my going to Nimeguen, that all the business of Monsieur du Cros had been only an intrigue of his own; and, I believe, a surprise upon his Majesty. That I had, thereupon, never said one word to the Swedish Ambassadors there of his Majesty's warranting the neutrality of Spain, or any thing else contained

in the dispatches received from England with Monsieur du Cros; but had made that advantage of my journey, as in a great measure to take away the ill impressions which had been given them of his Majesty's conduct by Du Cros's discourses, and the French Ambassadors upon them. He seemed to be extreme glad of both these points, and said, he would immediately give the Prince notice of them; that Monsieur du Cros's journey was a thing done, and so without remedy; and therefore they must make the best of what was past, and provide, as well as they could, against what was coming upon them; in which they should have infinite need of his Majesty's resolution and constancy, *pour supporter la foiblesse de quelques gens de cet Etat, qui ne tendoient qu'à la ruine du païs aussi bien que du Prince.* That for his part he saw very well the artifices of France in all that had passed at Nimeguen. That they knew the Dutch Ambassadors had orders to sign the peace, in case the evacuation of the places were yielded before the 11th of this month, according to our late treaty; but that they could not sign after that day was expired. That they were resolved to prevent the force of this conjunction between his Majesty and this State, by signing the peace that night, upon yielding to evacuate the places; but that they had not discovered this intention till ten o'clock that morning, in a conference which lasted till three in the afternoon; after which they knew there would neither be time for the Spanish Ambassadors to adjust their treaty that night, nor for the Dutch to send for orders to the States, whether to sign without the Spaniards, or no: that the Dutch Ambassadors had *extrememement precipité l'affaire*; and that he knew very well the French were persuaded by some of their correspondents here, that the States having once signed, though Spain should not agree,

would yet be concluded by it. And that the French Ambassadors had thereupon raised new points in their treaty with Spain, which had never been mentioned in the French propositions at Nimeguen. That they would indeed have a very fine game to play, if in only giving up Maestricht to the Dutch, they might retain the other places in Flanders, and have the liberty thereby of invading Cleves and Juliers, while this State should have their hands tied up; but that they would be deceived in all this measure. That the States would never ratify the treaty, unless that of Spain were first concluded; and the places in Flanders, as well as Maestricht, should thereupon be actually evacuated. That, till Spain had signed, they would neither send their Deputies to France (though they might possibly name them), nor so much as consent to the ceasing of hostility. That, God be thanked, there was an expression in the late treaty, by which his Majesty and the States were engaged one to another; not only in case France should refuse to promise the evacuation of the places, but also in case they should delay to do it, either upon the account of the satisfaction of Sweden, or any other cause; or in case, after they had agreed to it, they should *detrectare*. That the ratifications being once exchanged, he did not doubt his Majesty would be firm to them in all these points, as they should be both to him and to themselves.

After this, he told me he should see me again when the Commissioners came to exchange the ratifications; which they accordingly did between ten and eleven, and the exchange was made in form between us. Monsieur Van Lewen took occasion to say upon it, that as nothing but our signing the treaty could have made the French yield to the point of evacuating the places, so nothing but our ratification could keep them up to it. That they

had discovered their artifices more than ever, by the long *chicane* they had made with the Dutch Ambassadors about retaining Maestricht, Charleroy, or Ghent, even the very day they signed the treaty: by which they shewed plainly, that nothing had brought them to it but the fear of a firm conjunction between England and Holland; and that he still feared what might be the consequence of the treaty signed without the Spaniards.

I told the Commissioners, his Majesty had ever reckoned upon Spain's concluding at the same time with them; and upon evacuation of the Spanish places, as the very fundamental point of the States agreeing to the French conditions. That I found before I came from Nimeguen, that the difficulties were like to be great between France and Spain; and that the Dutch Ambassadors thereupon had a mind to put that business upon us, the King's Ambassadors there; but that we had excused ourselves from it, and told them, we had always looked upon it as a part of the States agreement with France, and with which they ought to charge themselves, as the most essential part of their own treaty. I asked the Commissioners, whether they were not of this mind? The Pensioner said, they were; and that the Dutch Ambassadors should be charged with it, as a point without which the peace could not be ratified. Monsieur Van Lewen seconded them, and said it was the foundation of all the rest; and that he did believe there was not one man in the States would consent to the ratifications without it.

I remember nothing else that passed upon this occasion: and shall upon the whole, in short, give you my own opinion of the present dispositions here, in this great conjuncture. There is a party here, that would certainly drive this State into such measures with France as might bring the provinces not only into a dependence, but even under the

subjection of France. And this party consists of rich men, of the old Lovestein faction, in five or six of the great trading towns of this province. They are induced to it by the hatred and fear of the house of Orange; and by the belief that if they live under the protection of France, the liberty and trade of the country shall be still preserved; and the hands of the government only changed from the Prince of Orange's friends to those of this party. The French have had all along, but especially for these seven or eight months past, a close intelligence with the best heads of this party, and by them infused it into many well-meaning men, that nothing but the protection of France can preserve these countries in constant peace, and thereby in trade and riches; that France can never have any design upon their liberties, because it would be against their own interest, in regard they could make better use of this State by their continuing to be great and rich, than if they should be weak and poor, which would follow the suppression of their liberties; with many other plausible things of this nature, reflecting upon the great danger here to be from the Prince of Orange in conjunction with England.

On the other side, five of the provinces here, and about eleven or twelve of eighteen of the towns in this province, are generally in the opinions and interests of the Prince of Orange; and whenever his Majesty falleth in heartily to back them by his alliances, and any artificial dealing in the French negotiations come to be discovered, they grow to be so much masters of all resolutions here, that all the well-meaning men, even in the great trading towns, fall in with them, and those which are absolutely in the French interest dare not so much as speak in their assemblies. But whenever it happens that any paces of his Majesty give them a suspicion of

his uncertainty in the measures with them, the other party then immediately gets ground; and the generality in the great towns begin to conclude, that they had better accept any terms of peace from France than rely upon a support from England, which they cannot be sure of.

All seem at present absolutely resolved not to ratify the peace with France, unless Spain be likewise concluded by it, and the towns evacuated: but yet what this itself may come to I cannot tell, in case his Majesty should give them occasion of doubting his resolutions to support them in it. Which is all I shall trouble you with upon this subject, or any other, at this time, besides the assurances of my being always, Sir, your, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord, Hague, August 16, N. S. 1678.

On Saturday last in the evening, I received at Nimeguen, by express, your Lordship's in the new Secretary's hand, with one from Secretary Williamson, giving me order to exchange the ratifications with this State, which were sent over last post; and upon the exchange whereof Mr. Secretary tells me his Majesty puts so much weight. If it were so, sure he must have forgot that I was ordered the post before to go away to Nimeguen; and that it is twenty-six leagues between this place and that; so that if by contrary winds, or any other accident, the express had been a day longer coming to me; or if, after receiving it, I had not travelled all night as well as day, I could not have been here time enough to have ratified it; the term fixed for it by the treaty expiring yesterday, and that, perhaps, the state of Christendom may, in great measure, depend upon this ratification; for, though the peace between France and this State be signed, yet

it must be the force of this ratification that must prevail with France to sign the treaty with Spain too, and thereupon to evacuate really the towns; and it must be the same force that must keep this State from ratifying their peace with France, unless Spain be likewise included, and the towns really evacuated.

For my own part, I was never so amazed as to receive this ratification of the treaty, and orders to exchange it. For, upon Monsieur du Cros's journey, and all he said at the Hague and Nimeguen upon it, as if it were on purpose to spread it both here and there, I did believe the King had taken his absolute measures with France; that he was resolved not to ratify the treaty here, and sent me away to Nimeguen, only to have me gone from hence, for the reasons Monsieur Colbert gave for my orders to go, *à cause que je ne faisois que du mal icy*. Besides, Monsieur du Cros told them, and others here, that all the measures concerning the peace were agreed by his Majesty, your Lordship, Monsieur Barillon, and him. That you were to enter into alliance presently with France and Sweden; that orders were gone to my Lord Sunderland to that purpose, and that his Lordship would make them public by the next post. How all this was to agree with my treaty here, and powers to negotiate with the confederates, made, I confess, my head turn round, and seemed to hang together like ropes of sand. In the mean time, I had found out by the Swedish Ambassadors at Nimeguen, that the whole business of du Cros was a mystery to them; that they knew nothing in the world of it till he came to Nimeguen; only the post before, he had writ them word he was coming: that they had given the French Ambassadors their declaration of desisting from their pretensions, the 26th of last month, N. S. and that the very hour Monsieur du

Cros arrived, and was with them, the French Ambassadors came in, to let them, (the Swedes,) know they had orders to desist likewise from their pretensions of detaining the towns.

Both the Swedish Ambassadors told me, that when they delivered this message to du Cros, who was all the while in the house, he was *si étonné qu'il étoit prêt de tomber de son haut;* and yet, that he had the impudence to write to his Master, the Duke of Holstein, that he had made the peace. This they told me both together; and next day Monsieur Olivecrans alone told me, Du Cros had so much address as to get them both to sign a letter to his Majesty, of his own drawing up, which seemed to give him (Du Cros) some share in the business; and that he (Monsieur Olivecrans) was extremely ashamed of it, because the contrary would appear by the date of their declaration to France; but that this whole intrigue of Du Cros was an arrant comedy. For my own part, I wish it were so; but the effects are more than ridiculous, and, I doubt, have shaken his Majesty's credit more than was to be wished at this time. And, for my part, I have, upon what the Swedes told me, very plainly said to the Dutch Ambassadors, and others, that it was a downright *fourberie* of Du Cros; and that I had no other business at Nimeguen, but to observe the motions of the peace at the critical term. In short, it is signed; and I have writ to Mr. Secretary, with what dispositions on the French, and what on this side: and what all may come to upon it I know not, but am sure it will extremely depend upon his Majesty. But what the dispositions will be there, I can never pretend more to tell, since you could not so much as keep your countenance three weeks together; and have now ratified a treaty, which Mr. Secretary found fault with every line of; and since you could suffer such a man as Du Cros, of

whom the Pensioner said, at my but naming him, *c'est un fourbe des fourbes*, to give so unhappy a *branle* to the affairs of the world. But after all, I must beg your Lordship to let me know, when you did resolve to send him and those instructions, why not to Sir Lionel Jenkins, that was upon the place; but to me that was engaged here in an affair of another nature? Well, I can say no more but that it has so broke my head, that I think it will not be right again: and I must beg of your Lordship, that you will please to let his Majesty know, that I grow old and infirm, and am not fit for these sudden commands: that if he thinks I can be of use to him till the end of this conjuncture, I am content to stay that period; but for returning to Nimeguen, I shall not be able to do it; nor do I think there can be need of more than one; if there be, Mr. Hyde is in commission: but let who will be there, instructed as I find Sir Lionel Jenkins is, there had as good be none at all. Whatever becomes of my health, or heart, or honour, your Lordship will ever be assured of my being, my Lord, your, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

My Lord,

SINCE the writing of this, I have received Mr. Secretary Williamson's of the 2d instant, and a long one from Mr. Aglionby, of the same date, with an account of all his Majesty's, the Duke's, and your Lordship's discourses to him upon the present conjuncture: by which I find you will have reason to think of the man, and his late intrigue, as I have done ever since I spoke with the Swedish Ambassadors; but what you will think after he has been with you I know not, considering his address; one part whereof has been, to make the Leyden French Gazette publish yesterday, that, upon Monsieur du

Cros's arrival at Nimeguen, the peace was immediately signed; so that it must have been done upon something he brought with him from England. I cannot but add one thing the Pensioner told me since my return, which was, that, among many other things Du Cros had spread, both here and at Nimeguen, of which you have account enough already, he told the Swedish Ambassadors as well as the French, that the King was absolutely for a peace, and would not come into the war; but that the Duke was wholly for the war, and with intention by it to bring the Prince to be Sovereign of this country; being wholly in that interest since the marriage of his Highness.

Upon the whole, you will be best able to judge there, from what springs this whole thing has moved, finding how early Sweden has made their declaration of desisting, which was the 16th of July, O. S. how France had resolved to sign the peace with the Dutch upon the evacuation of the places, if they could not prevail for the deputation to St. Quintin; and how all this has passed, it seems, without any communication with his Majesty: for in the letters of the 2d instant, you knew nothing of any such resolution in France, for aught I see; and the French Ambassadors received their orders to sign upon Monday the 29th of July, O. S. though they kept them private till Wednesday, which was the last day the Dutch were at liberty; and thereby put them upon doing it so precipitately, that they might neither be able to take Spain along with them, nor to consult with the States whether to sign or no.

This is enough upon so unpleasant a subject. Now, for my going to Nimeguen, after I had resolved to stay, when I received my instructions; I will tell your Lordship just upon what point that resolution turned. The day after I dispatched my se-

cretary with my first resolution, Mr. Meredith told me, the King had been extreme earnest upon my going to Nimeguen, without any more circumstance than bare communication to the States. Monsieur Sylvercroon came and told me, the Swedes had not absolutely desisted from their pretensions, though they had declared they would; and the Pensioner writ me this letter, all in his own hand, whereof I send you the copy; by which he made my going absolutely necessary for his Majesty's interest and that of the Prince, as well as other considerations; since Du Cros had made the subject of it so public, that several of the States of Holland had told the Pensioner of it the day after Du Cros had passed by this place. All that I can say farther to your Lordship is, that if the King be really upon no better terms with France, than he seems to be by all the last dispatches, and that they play their game here whenever they can, and with us only when they cannot compass their ends here; and if his Majesty will, on the other side, endeavour to hinder that game, and keep the dependence of this State upon the Crown of England, he must, I doubt, come to these two resolutions: first, to assure the Prince of Orange that he will take no farther measures, either upon the peace or war, till he has first concerted them with him; and next, to come to a resolution to join absolutely with this State in any measures they shall think necessary for their safety, upon the neutrality of Cleves and Juliers; without which, the Prince and Pensioner think the State lost: but they know not whether they will come up to it themselves, till they find whether they shall be backed by his Majesty; but in that case, they are confident the States will be positive, either before the peace or after.

I humbly beg your Lordship's pardon for this long and hasty scribble, which I am ashamed of;

and yet, now it is done, it will be necessary to shew it his Majesty, being all the lights I can give from hence, besides what I have given to Mr. Secretary; and all the account I can give of my own conduct. I am, &c.

Your Lordship will understand by my dispatch to Mr. Secretary, that I having said not a word to the Swedes at Nimeguen, but only general professions of his Majesty's kindness to that Crown, the King is at liberty wholly on that side, unless Monsieur Du Cros had power to bind him.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, August 19, N. S. 1678.

By Sir Lionel Jenkins's express, I gave you yesterday the trouble of one of mine, with a copy of the treaty signed the 10th, between the French and Dutch Ambassadors at Nimeguen. I am apt to believe, that what was signed at first was rather a *brouillon*, than any fair and formal draught; both the French and Monsieur Van Beverning having run the affair out of all forms, to prevent the fatal minute, as they thought it, of twelve o'clock that night; after which the Dutch had declared they could not sign: and Monsieur Beverning suffers, as I find, in every body's opinion here; having, as they assure me, never had any orders to sign, but only to pass an act upon the French consenting to evacuate the places, that the States would thereupon sign the peace, so soon as the treaty with Spain should be agreed. Let the spring have been where it will, the precipitation of the affair appears in many points that reflect much upon Monsieur Beverning's conduct; who confesses they had not time to read it over. For, besides a contradiction in two articles, which gave one six months, and

another nine months time for the same thing, there were three essential faults. The first, not drawing so much as an act from the French Ambassadors for the evacuation of the Spanish towns; though the Spanish Ambassadors had given them one, before the signing, whereby they consented to the terms offered them by the French proposition. The next was (which I hear in private), that whereas it was agreed upon between them, that the differences between the States and Sweden should be endeavoured to be adjusted in three months time, and that, in the mean while, there should be a neutrality: when the article was drawn up, the term of three months was omitted, so that the article runs in general. The third concerns his Majesty more particularly, and his defensive alliance with this State: for in the 13th article of the treaty of peace, where the States promise a neutrality, and not directly, nor indirectly, to assist the enemies of France, it runs generally, which destroys the force of any defensive league they have made. But when I spoke to the Pensioner and Monsieur Van Lewen about it, they both told me, that the States had immediately taken notice of it, as soon as the transcript of the articles came to them; and had them sent to Monsieur Beverning to reproach him upon it, with order to have it immediately redressed; without which they ordered him to declare to the French Ambassadors, that it should not be ratified; and it is to be mended by the addition of these words, after *les ennemis de France, et des alliés, durant le cours de cette guerre, et à l'egard de ceux qui y sont maintenant engagés.* They interpret the dressing of this article in French, to have been industrious on their part, as well as negligent on the Dutch side.

To-morrow Monsieur Beverning will make his report to the States, how this whole business has

passed; and particularly, of the state wherein I left the differences between the French and the Spaniards. Accordingly, though I have no letters from you this post, yet having seen one from Monsieur Van Beuninghen, which confirms me in the opinion I was, that his Majesty would desire the Spaniards might come to sign too; without which the towns in Flanders would not be evacuated; I have spoken at large with Monsieur de Lyra upon this point, whom I take to be the spring of the Spaniards motions in all these parts.

I find his resolutions are, to try if he can make the States disown their Ambassadors: but in case he cannot obtain that, and be pressed to dispatch the treaty now on foot, he will give into it even with the point of neutrality; laying this for his maxim, to hold this State up to the best terms he can for his Master, but, however, not to break with them; and to pursue the closest measures he can with them after the peace, and, by their means, endeavour the same with his Majesty; upon the belief that all three are equally concerned in preservation of whatever is left in Flanders.

While I was in this dispatch, the Pensioner and Monsieur Van Lewen came to me from the States, to let me know, that having received letters from Monsieur Van Beuninghen, by which they found that Monsieur du Cros had informed his Majesty that the States had made paces in this treaty disagreeing with the measures taken between his Majesty and them, and of private concert between them and France; particularly that they desisted from pressing the neutrality of Cleves and Juliers, and had granted the French a passage at Viset, for invading those countries; the States had ordered them both to write to Monsieur Van Beuninghen, and to desire me to assure his Majesty, that it was all a false information. And whereas they found

endeavours had been used thereupon to possess his Majesty, that the peace being made, there would be no farther use of his forces in Flanders; they desired not only the continuation of those that were there, but likewise that he would be pleased to send over more; since the peace was yet upon very ticklish terms.

They said hereupon, that they every day discovered some new artifice in the dealings of France; for now they proposed two months to be the term of the ratification between them and the Spaniards, though Spain desired but a month; which was done out of design to retard the evacuation of the places, till his Majesty and the States should retire their forces out of Flanders: but that they were confident the States would not ratify their treaty till Spain should ratify theirs, and the evacuation of the places immediately follow.

The Pensioner, staying some time with me alone, told me, both the States of Holland and States General had approved the Prince's late action near Mons, and sent him thanks for it, as well as for his conduct the next day, in acquainting Monsieur de Luxemburgh with the peace, and agreeing to a cessation of arms for two days.

I took notice of the 30th article of the treaty of commerce, about the liberty of building ships, as one that had been introduced in the time of their best intelligence, upon the treaty of 1662: and which I thought too much for a bare treaty of peace and amity. But, he said, this article was in their treaties of commerce with Sweden and Denmark, as well as France: that France had made one trial of it, by building four or five ships here; but had been so served in it, that they never returned any more, and, he did believe, never would, or, if they did, should fare no better.

That they, the States, were ready to come to

any new treaty of the strictest alliance that his Majesty should think fit after the peace; since nothing but a firm conjunction between them could stop the career of France. He said, that their Ambassadors had strict orders to insist upon the neutrality of Cleves and Juliers, even after the peace; but it having been omitted in the first hasty acceptation of the peace, some towns would not be brought to *acroche* it absolutely upon that. What they might do when it came nearer to them, he could not tell; but was apt to believe that the Spaniards once agreeing, it might run to a general peace, and that the affairs of the North itself would not hinder it. I am, your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, August 23, N. S. 1678.

On Saturday last, Monsieur Beverning made his report to the States, and in particular of the difficulties remaining between the French and Spaniards; which consisted chiefly in the French demands of the county of Beaumont, of Bovines, of security for the cession of Dinant, and of an article of neutrality from the Spaniards. The report was received so coldly, and followed with such imputations of ill conduct, upon those points which I mentioned in my last, especially the omission in the 13th article, and not procuring an act from the French Ambassadors for the evacuation of the places, that Monsieur Beverning, when he came out of the assembly, swore to his friends, that he would give up his commission, and that nothing should engage him to return to Nimeguen any more; laying the fault of all omissions upon his precipitation; and that, upon the advices and orders from hence, which he had followed to the best of his understanding. He went immediately

to his house in the country, where he continues ever since; though some of the States have engaged several of his best friends to go down and endeavour to reclaim him.

Yesterday, about noon, the Prince arrived at Hounslardyke, after having agreed with the Duke of Luxemburgh about a cessation of hostility till the ratification of the treaty, and about withdrawing the forces on each side; and thereby left Mons open. I attended his Highness in the afternoon, and found him much unsatisfied about the signing of the peace without Spain; which, he said absolutely, the Ambassadors had no farther orders for, than only to threaten the Spaniards, that in case they would not consent to the article of neutrality, they would sign without them. But that it was done; and since his Majesty was so well pleased with it, as it seemed by Monsieur Van Beuninghen's letter, they must make their best of it, and drive it on to a peace, in case France would be sincere in it with the Spaniards: but that he much doubted it, unless the same resolutions and paces of his Majesty, which had engaged him to promise the evacuation of the places, should bring it to a conclusion. He was very melancholy upon what condition this peace would leave all the affairs of the allies in, and the just reproaches this State was to expect from them; which he was to bear his share in, how little soever he had deserved it. He said a great deal about Monsieur du Cros's journey, and what effects it had here; but that he had not yet spoken with the States, and could not tell what it was they would be at: but that he would see me to-day, after he had been in the assembly. I found him unsatisfied with Monsieur Beverning; but yet of my opinion, that he must return to Nimeguen, and end this business of Spain; without which it could not be a peace.

The same day I spoke with Monsieur Van Lewen, who told me, the French Ambassadors had consented to the redressing the tenth article in the manner I writ in my last, and that the States *auroient crevé plûtôt que de faire la paix sans cela;* that no State could have gréater obligation than this had to his Majesty; and that every body in it was sensible, that they owed the peace wholly to him, in case they had it, which would yet depend upon that between France and Spain; and this upon his Majesty's resolutions to support them in standing firmly upon it, as the point upon which their own treaty was grounded.

This afternoon the Prince came to me, and told me, he found a general disposition in the States, not to ratify the peace till Spain should be ready to do it at the same time. But yet, he desired very much, that his Majesty would give me orders to press them upon this point, if there should be occasion; and that nothing new should be imposed upon the Spaniards beyond the conditions given in by the French at Nimeguen. He desired likewise, that his Majesty would give order to his Ambassador at Nimeguen, to propose, as from his Majesty, a general suspension of arms for six months, in order to the treating of a general peace; and desired me that I would not fail to represent both these points to his Majesty from his Highness by this post. He saith, by advices from Nimeguen he finds the French Ambassadors there seem well enough disposed to it, upon the Nuncio's having already proposed it; but that nothing will give it so much force, as coming from his Majesty, and therefore is very earnest in it.

Mr. Meredith sends you the treaty printed, as likewise that for cessation of hostilities; so that I shall not increase your present trouble beyond the assurance of my being always, Sir, your, &c.

P. S. The Prince has engaged Monsieur Beverning to come to town to-morrow; so as the States of Holland will then fall into consultation upon the points in difference between France and Spain.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord, Hague, August 26, N. S. 1678.

I HAD the honour of one from your Lordship of the 12th, by my secretary, who came over with Mr. Hyde. I will not enter into the reasons of this warm and sudden motion in England, nor can I into the effects of it abroad. A little time will tell us the last: and for the first, it is my part rather to look towards the events, than enquire into the causes of it. All I shall say, is, that it has extremely surprised every body here, and none more than the Prince, unless it be myself. For your Lordship knows, when I came away, his Majesty's resolution was, to have the peace, if he could, upon the evacuation of the places; and in the course of this whole matter, to follow and support Holland in the paces they should make, and not to lead them: and you may remember, I told his Majesty at the foreign committee, that I knew very well the dispositions of Holland towards the peace were such, that if he should have had a desire to engage them farther in the war, his endeavours towards it must be like those of rowers, that look one way and go another. I should have been glad his Majesty would have begun upon this occasion what, your Lordship tells me, he has resolved, of concerting with the Prince any measures he should take, especially in what relates to these countries, where he can certainly give his Majesty the best lights, and such as it is not possible for his Majesty to have in taking sudden resolutions upon affairs that are in motion, and have such sudden turns,

As in this itself his Majesty could not know, that the Prince had himself concluded a cessation of hostility with France till the ratification of the treaty; and yet that very circumstance made a great change in the event like to attend Mr. Hyde's commission. The particular of his instruction; to say, his Majesty would recal his forces out of Flanders, in case the States fell not into his opinion of the late treaty's having place; was, I suppose, intended to draw them into his Majesty's present mind, and thereby to save Flanders, as well as Holland, from falling into the hand or dependence of France: but the Prince and Pensioner severally, at the very first mention of it, concluded, it would have a quite contrary effect, and must certainly occasion the loss both of this country and Flanders; as you will find by Mr. Hyde's dispatch; which is so exact, that I can add nothing to it towards his Majesty's information: only, I will tell your Lordship what the Prince said to me last night upon it; which was, that he was very glad to see his Majesty in this mind; and that he knew very well what effects it would have had, if they had been assured of it here three weeks ago: but what it would have now, he could not tell; for they were all so surprised, especially after Monsieur Van Beuninghen's letter, which said so much of his Majesty's being pleased with the peace, that nobody had said a word upon it: that for his part, if he had been first consulted in it, he should have been for his Majesty's sending to the States, not to ratify the treaty without Spain's ratifying theirs at the same time, and being thereby assured of the evacuation to follow immediately: that if his Majesty had only pressed this, and assured the States at the same time of his resolution to support them, by a vigorous execution of their treaty, in case of any refusal or difficulty from France, he was con-

fident the thing would have been done, and thereby either Spain been included, or the States gone on with the war: but that he did not know what effect this, now come from his Majesty, would produce in the great towns of Holland, where they were so apt to be jealous of his Highness's designs to continue the war; that we should see in a few days, and that he chiefly apprehended the town of Amsterdam upon it.

What your Lordship says, of your forbearing to say those things I desired you to tell his Majesty about myself, is too obliging in you, not to be acknowledged: but yet, I must beg your Lordship to believe, that none can judge so well of a man as himself; who feels what is within, whilst others only see what is without; and finds the decays of age or indisposition in his body and mind, while he may disguise them to other people. Whenever I thought myself able to do his Majesty service, though I never sought it, yet I never refused it: but whenever I shall find myself incapable of doing it any longer, and let his Majesty know it, I hope he will believe it: and, in the mean time, I beg your Lordship, not to think any thing I say of that kind, is humour, but a true judgment I make of myself by what I feel, and what I told both his Majesty and your Lordship, before I came over, would happen to me by any long stay in these countries, which have ever been so contrary to my health.

I cannot tell your Lordship how sensible a part I bear in the indisposition of the family, as well as your own, but comfort myself with the hopes Mr. Aglionby gives me, of their being well over; and will not engage your Lordship at present in any farther trouble, than the assurance of my being ever, with equal passion and truth, my Lord, your, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord, Hague, August 30, N. S. 1678.

I COULD not receive a greater honour or satisfaction, than by your Grace's letter of the 12th past; which I should sooner have acknowledged, but that since my last I have been engaged in such sudden and unexpected motions, as well as the business here in such turns, as have left me neither time nor patience, nor concernment enough sometimes, to think of many things I ought to have done: among which, I reckoned all duties I owed to your Grace, and this in that number.

I shall, as succinctly as I can, pursue the thread of those two accounts I gave your Grace at my leaving England, and since my arrival here to this time: after which, I do not expect to meet with any thing worth your Grace's trouble or my own; having my head turned wholly another way, and cured of those impertinent solicitudes, which have so often busied it about public affairs, and to so little purpose.

After my last to your Grace, and till the 4th of this month and this style, I took myself to have mastered the business his Majesty had sent me upon here. The treaty was signed, and by it the day fixed, being the 11th instant, for France to yield the evacuation of the places, or his Majesty to come into the war with the States. France had failed of all their endeavours to break these measures: the States had resolved not to send their Deputies to treat with the French King in person at St. Quintin, and not to sign their treaty even upon the evacuation being yielded; unless in conju c-tion with Spain. The time of decision drew near, and the most Christian King seemed so far engaged by his peremptory answers to his Majesty, as

well as by his Ambassadors' declarations at Nimeguen, not to evacuate the places till the satisfaction of Sweden, that every body was at a gaze, which would prove of most weight, this point of honour, or that of interest, not to see England engaged in such a confederacy against France: and, in the mean time, whether it should prove a peace or a war. The measures were so closed between us and Holland, that nothing, in appearance, was like to shake them. For though upon my signing the treaty, Mr. Secretary Williamson had found great faults with many particulars of it, and sent me orders to get them amended, or else the King could not ratify; yet they being such points as had been impossible to be obtained here, and wherein I was left at liberty by my instructions; this difficulty had only been communicated to the Prince and the Pensioner here, who had confidence of satisfying his Majesty in those particulars, without making them public; which they thought would have ill effects upon the States at so critical a time in the measures between us.

Upon the 4th current, Mr. Meredith, the King's Secretary of the embassy, who had gone over with the treaty, arrived here, and in his company one Monsieur du Cros, styled at London, Envoy of the Duke of Holstein. Mr. Meredith brought me an instruction to let the States know, that the King had resolved to give a guaranty upon the peace, to the neutrality which Spain should enter upon towards the enemies of Sweden; and that I had command to go immediately to Nimeguen, to acquaint the Swedish Ambassadors there with this resolution of his Majesty, and endeavour thereby to induce them to quit their pretension of being restored before the evacuation of the towns, that so France might be at liberty to make that pace towards the peace. My instructions told me like-

wise, that this was done upon insinuations made his Majesty by Du Cros, who was sent at the same time to the Swedish Ambassadors upon this occasion.

Du Cros came to me, and told me, the King had taken this measure with Monsieur Barillon, and sent an express over with it into France: that he was resolved upon the peace, and, to that purpose, had hastened me away to Nimeguen; whither he (Du Cros) hoped to attend me. I told him, he knew his own times and motions; and that I should govern myself in mine by my orders and his Majesty's intentions, as far as I understood them. And so we parted.

I was in the greatest trouble in the world, whether to obey my instructions, or first acquaint the King with the consequence of them here. I stayed three days after Du Cros, before I went to Nimeguen; but at last was resolved in the point, by finding that Du Cros had made all public here; was gone to do the same at Nimeguen, and had persuaded the Swedish Commissary to come and tell me, that their Ambassadors had not absolutely desisted, but only declared that they would do so, and expected my coming to determine them. Upon all which, the Pensioner as well as I were both of opinion, that it was necessary for me to acquaint the States with what his Majesty had ordered me, and to go away to Nimeguen; and not give the States of Holland occasion to believe, that I endeavoured to hinder his Majesty's paces towards the peace, in favour of what they here suspect, of the Prince's inclination to carry on the war.

On the 6th instant, I acquainted the States with his Majesty's resolution, and my journey; and on the 7th, I set out to Nimeguen, where I arrived the 8th; and immediately found, that on the 6th, the French Ambassadors had declared my memorial to

the Dutch, that they desisted from their pretension to detain the towns till the satisfaction of Sweden, in pursuit of a declaration the Swedish Ambassadors had made to them about ten days before. But the French still insisted upon the Dutch sending to St. Quintin, to adjust other points of the peace. On the 9th, the Dutch Ambassadors gave their answer to the French, that the State could not send to St. Quintin till the peace was signed; but that they were ready to sign upon the evacuation of the places, and should be so all the next day; but after that ended, they could make no farther pace without his Majesty, whose measures taken with them by treaty would take place on the 11th of this month.

On the 11th in the morning, the French Ambassadors came to the Dutch; and in a conference of five hours, wherein they pressed very much to keep some of the towns, but found the Dutch obstinate in all; they yielded at last, and agreed to sign the treaty, and both came to us, the (mediators) to desire us to sign with them. We asked, whether Spain signed at the same time, and were included? And finding they did not, we refused to sign with them, or at all to intervene in the treaty without new orders; since ours directed us to all paces necessary for a general peace, but not to any for a particular one. We expostulated with the Dutch for going about to sign without Spain, contrary to what had always been his Majesty's and the States intention; but Monsieur Beverning said, he must sign that night, though he lost his head; and so they did, between eleven and twelve o'clock; the instrument having been hardly finished by that hour; when our last treaty with Holland, for carrying on the war, would have begun to take place.

Next day they fell into the business between France and Spain, wherein they met with so many

difficulties by new demands of the French, that they confessed they found plainly the French design in this precipitation; which was, that the Spaniards might not have leisure to adjust their treaty, so as to sign at the same time, nor the Dutch Ambassadors have leisure to send a courier to the States for particular orders, whether to sign or no without Spain; and thereby to divide the States from Spain, and concluding their peace separately with the first, be obliged only to restore Maestricht, but keep the places in Flanders still in their hands.

Upon this Monsieur Beverning told us, that they had made a pace that had ruined both the States and all their neighbours; and when he said the same to his allies, laid the fault upon his Majesty, who had (as he said from Van Beuninghen's letter out of England) first refused to ratify the late treaty without conditions that were not possible for this State to admit; and by Du Cros's journey, had satisfied the States what measures the King had taken with France for the peace, and how little was expected from England as to any rupture with that Crown. Of all which we gave an account to Court.

On the 13th at night I received by express the notice of the ratification of his Majesty's treaty with this State being arrived at the Hague, and commands to exchange them without those difficulties that had before been made by Secretary Williamson. The last day allowed for this exchange was the 15th; so that if the express had, by winds or other accident, been kept four-and-twenty hours longer upon the way, or I had not gone all night as well as all day, I could not have come time enough from Nimeguen to the Hague to make the exchange; and the whole treaty, upon which his Majesty began to put so much weight, had been out of doors.

The ratifications being exchanged in time and

form, the Pensioner, with the greatest chagrin in the world, complained of Du Cros's journey, as that which had ruined the whole affair, by giving such impressions here and at Nimeguen, as had precipitated the signing of the peace without Spain; and told me, the Prince had never been so troubled at any thing in his life; and that he doubted it would engage him in some desperate action. The same night, being the 15th, I received letters from England, telling me, they had discovered the artifice of Du Cros in that whole business, and how mischievous it might prove; and that they hoped I had not pursued my instructions, as I had certainly not done if they had been sent privately to me, and the whole business not been communicated to him: but the thing was done; and all I could say of it, was, that having found, at my arrival at Nimeguen, the Swedes had actually made the pace towards which his Majesty seemed wholly to aim by my instruction, I had never said any thing of it to the Swedish Ambassadors, and thereby left Du Cros wholly discredited with them and the French, and all others there: and told them, that I found plainly, his whole business was a *fourberie;* which sent him home railing at me, that I would not obey my orders, and that I was resolved to engage the King in a war, when his Majesty was resolved not to enter into any with France.

On the 16th, at night, we received news of the Prince's bold action near Mons: for the honour whereof, I will only tell your Grace, that the French Ambassadors at Nimeguen had assured me, that their army was so posted, that if they had but ten thousand men, and the Prince fifty thousand, he would find it impossible to attack them.

The success of it you will have heard from many hands; and found, that after the Prince, no man had a greater share in the danger and honour of it

than my Lord Ossory, who charged upon the most desperate pass, and left a great many men and officers behind him. For the Prince, all agree there was not a common soldier in the army so much exposed, leading up every squadron himself in the wing he charged; and being, the whole time of the engagement, in the very hottest of the fire.

The day after the battle, the Prince received the States letters, giving him an account of the peace being signed; upon which he sent to the Duke of Luxemburgh, to know if he would upon it raise the siege of Mons; for which he took two days time to send for orders, and then consented to do it; and so the affair ended, and the armies retired to their quarters. If some miscarriages had not happened in this action from some of the confederates, the French army had certainly been broken that day. And if the news of the peace being made public, with some other circumstances, had not prevented it the next, the business would have come to a great decision between the armies; and with much appearance of advantage to the Dutch, upon the conjunction with a body of fresh English foot, which would have had great influence upon all sides. But it was otherwise decreed.

On the 19th letters came from England, but none to me from Court; upon the belief I might be at Nimeguen, as Mr. Secretary pretended. But the letters from Monsieur Van Beuninghen to the States said, though the King and Court had, at first report of the peace being signed, seemed a great deal surprised; yet he had next day talked with them, and found them very well pleased with it, and with the conduct of the States: and a private letter to the foreign Ministers here said, it went so far, that they were upon the point of disowning me and Sir Lionel Jenkins, for refusing to sign the peace as mediators.

On the 22d the Prince arrived here, and having been in the States the 23d, where he was received with great applause, he came to me that evening; and after complaints of their Ambassadors having signed the peace without Spain, and the ill consequences it was like to have upon the affairs of Christendom, he said, however, since his Majesty was pleased with it, there was nothing to be done but to endeavour to include Spain in it, and afterwards to drive it on to a general peace; without which, France, having all their forces at liberty on this side, would in a very little time be masters of the Rhine, and all the great cities upon it, from Strasburg to Cologn, if not to Wesel; and after that would soon be masters of these countries and Flanders: and therefore he desired his Majesty would propose a general suspension of arms, by his Ambassadors at Nimeguen: which I writ the same night to Court, upon the Prince's desire, and with the terms of it.

The next day, being the 24th, Mr. Hyde arrived, after having made his passage in twenty-four hours from London; and brought positive instructions with him to let the States know how much the King had been surprised with their Ambassadors signing the treaty without Spain; and with the difficulties that still remained upon the Spanish treaty, and the evacuation of the places. That his Majesty was thereupon of opinion, that the States could not ratify that treaty, by what they were engaged to by the last treaty I had made here, to go on with the war: and that if they were of the same mind, and would signify it to him, he would, within three days after such signification, declare war against France; and in all points pursue the last treaty he had made with the States.

We acquainted the Prince that night with this commission; and the first word he said upon it was,

that he knew very well what effect this would have had if it had come three weeks before, and instead of Monsieur du Cros: but what effect it would have now, he could not tell, farther than that it would surprise every body. What he said to me in private was, that we were too cold, and too hot; and that he wondered we had not observed what they were always calling out to the steersmen at sea, *Steddy, steddy.* That all we could hope to make out of this, was but to keep up the States in the resolution they were in already, of not ratifying the treaty without Spain. But it had another effect, at the first noise, upon the towns here, and so far increased the jealousy of some concert between the King and Prince of Orange, for carrying on the war, though France should perform the conditions this State had accepted, that the very next day after Mr. Hyde's proposition, those of Holland passed a resolution to send an Ambassador immediately into France; though under pretence of knowing that King's mind upon the differences remaining with Spain: and the next day those of Amsterdam proposed to ratify the treaty with France, even without the inclusion of Spain. But the Prince's great temper and conduct hindered both one and the other: the first, by the voices of five other provinces against that of Holland; and the other, by the rest of the towns in Holland against that of Amsterdam; and brought it to a resolution, both in the States of Holland and States General, not to ratify the peace without Spain; and to order their Ambassadors at Nimeguen to go as far as possibly they can, in accommodating the points still in difference, which are small and few, and upon which I see no likelihood that either Spain or this State will continue the war. So that if France will have a peace, and not raise new difficulties beyond their own propositions, I look

upon it as unavoidable: and there has not been one time these four years past, when we might not have entered into the war with advantage, besides this alone, when we have made an offer at it; and thereby, I suppose, broke our measures with France, though we have not taken them with the confederates.

By last post the King sent orders to Sir Lionel Jenkins, at Nimeguen, to propose a general suspension of arms for six months; in concurrence, as Mr. Secretary Williamson writes, with the Prince's desire. But the Prince asks how this agrees now with Mr. Hyde's proposition? and observes, that when he desired it, it was before he knew any thing of this last resolution of his Majesty's; and, on the contrary, thought him pleased with the peace. In short, whoever should take the pains to lay together the paces we have made for these three months past in this great affair, would conclude our Secretaries of State never remembered one day what had been done the day before; or never cared what would be done the next. I am so far from speaking this with design, that I am, for my own part, resolved to lay at his Majesty's feet the promise he made me a year ago of that employment, as well as the embassy I am charged with: and should certainly have done it already, but the Prince has engaged me to defer it till this present crisis be over; and till he shall have talked with me to the end of this resolution.

I have nothing more worth increasing your Grace's trouble, and ought to ask pardon for the length of this. But I was resolved to give you once this light, by which the farther paces of this affair may be better discerned, even at the distance your Grace is at.

I shall only add, that, in whatever condition, I am, my Lord, your Grace's, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord, Hague, August 30, N. S. 1678.

I HAVE this morning received the honour of your Lordship's, in my son's hands; the contents whereof chiefly concerning the Prince, I thought fit to send it him immediately, though it found his Highness in the States of Holland, where the great consultation, or rather debate, was to begin, upon the commission Mr. Hyde brought over. Because your Lordship pleases to say, you are impatient to know what my opinion is upon the whole, after my discourse with the Prince and Pensioner, I will add what I can think of, that may give you any farther light than I did in my last, upon this occasion; and, in such a conjuncture, may possibly be done by small circumstances, sometimes better than by great.

The first word the Prince said upon it to Mr. Hyde and me together, after he acquainted his Highness with his whole instruction, was, that he knew very well what effect this would have had, if it had come over three weeks ago, instead of Monsieur Du Cros; but that he could not tell what effect it would have now; more than that it would surprise every body; but that, for his own part, he was very glad to find the King in that mind; and thought it might do good, and could do no harm. And then he said all that passed farther, of which Mr. Hyde gave you so exact an account last post.

The next day, the Prince speaking to me, in private, upon it, at first lift up his hands and eyes two or three times, and said, Is it possible that this and du Cros's business could come from the same hands? That he found, by Mr. Hyde's instructions, the King was troubled about what he had done in that business; but it was a pace that could not be discovered; and that his resolving to warrant the

neutrality of Spain had undone us all; for without that, this State would never have done it; nor never have signed without Spain, if Du Cros had not persuaded them here, that the King had absolutely taken his measures with France about the peace. That the design of Du Cros's journey was laid after Monsieur Barillon knew his Master had resolved to sign the peace, upon yielding to evacuate the towns. That the end of it was to shake his Majesty's measures here, by making them believe he had taken them absolutely with France about the peace; and to lose his Majesty's credit wholly with all the allies, by letting them know he was resolved to bring about the restitution of Sweden, as soon as Holland was out of the war; and to have me sent to Nimeguen, just at the same time that I might have hindered the signing a peace without Spain by my being here. That the French Ambassadors had told Monsieur Odyke, immediately upon Du Cros's arrival, that I had orders to come away presently, because I was making the war here, while his Majesty had taken his measures with France for the peace; and that it was a bold thing of me to stay at the Hague contrary to my positive orders. The Prince added, that he knew, from a good hand, by whom this whole business had been brought about; and made very melancholy reflections upon it. That for Mr. Hyde's commission, it would surprise the more here, because after this very business, and the signing of the peace being known in England, Monsieur Van Beuninghen had written to the States, that the King approved of what they had done, and was glad of it; that it was too cold and too hot; and that, for his part, he always thought of the boatswain in the yachts which brought him over, who was all night crying out still to the steersman, *Steddy, steddy;* which he thought was as necessary in all counsel, as at sea. After

this, he told me what use he hoped might be made of it (which I writ your Lordship last post), but that it could not bring the State again into war, unless France should refuse to sign with Spain upon such conditions as the State should think Spain had reason in; or else refuse actually to evacuate the towns, or to change the thirteenth article of the treaty.

These were the Prince's true thoughts upon it. Monsieur de Lyra, the Spanish Minister, said upon it, at first, that this resolution of his Majesty was a miracle wrought for Spain and this State, if they could be so wise as to make use of it; but that he foresaw the States would not: that the thing was gone too far since the signing of the peace by the States Ambassadors, and of the cessation of the hostility by the Prince; and that Spain could not hope to better their terms by it, because this State would not fall in with his Majesty, unless France should refuse to evacuate the towns, which he was sure they would not do. So that what they could hope was, that the States, seeing his Majesty so firm in it, would, at least, secure the evacuation of the towns to Spain, as well as that of Maestricht to themselves. But that he was afraid of this generous pace in his Majesty having an effect upon the jealousy Amsterdam, and some of the other great towns, had of the Prince, and his design to continue the war in concert with England.

The Marquis de Grana (who is the Emperor's chief Minister in all these parts, and one of the best in all kinds that I have met with) told me yesterday in private conference, *Que la dose est trop forte;* and that it had already increased the jealousy at Amsterdam so much, that they had given their opinion (the very next day after Mr. Hyde's proposition) to ratify the treaty with France. That the King had reason, in his opinion, to say, the case of our

treaty was fallen; and that if the States were as desirous to continue the war, as his Majesty seemed now to go into it, they might make the French proceedings in this matter a very just occasion, as not having performed the intentions of our treaty: but that there was no thought of bringing them into the war upon a chicane about words, whether the French declaration were in form, or their promise in writing. That, besides, there were many who wished well to the thing, but did not know what to make of this *boutade* in England, and had no confidence in it, since what Van Beuninghen and others had written the post before, about his Majesty's being pleased with the treaty; and so far, that he (the Marquis) saw a letter out of England, by that very post, which said, the King was so much satisfied with it, that he was upon the point of disowning Sir Lionel Jenkins and me, for having refused to sign the treaty. That, for his part, he looked upon all as desperate: that France would *faire quelque grand coup en Allemagne* these two months; and after the Germans should retire into winter-quarters, would come back with all their forces into Flanders, and master it, in case the towns should not be evacuated before that time; which they would endeavour by all the delays towards Spain, and all the artifices possible towards this State. That whatever came of it, he found his Master the Emperor was absolutely resolved never to separate himself from the Princes of the Empire in the course of the treaty, but leave the event to God Almighty.

Last night late the Prince told me, that he hoped to have the majority of voices, very considerably, in this province; and the other provinces entirely, for not ratifying their treaty till Spain had signed. That, for his part, he would endeavour all he could, that they might not do it till Spain should be ready

to ratify at the same time: but that he could have no hopes of carrying it any farther, unless France should refuse to conclude with Spain, upon the propositions they had offered at Nimeguen, and which Spain had accepted. That if they could, by his Majesty's firmness, secure the towns in the Spaniards hands, and thereby for the present save Flanders, all that he saw to be done, was to press the whole business on towards a general peace; since without it, after this State and Spain were out of the war, he did not see what could hinder France from taking Treves, Cologn, Mentz, and Strasburgh, though they should not invade Cleves and Juliers presently; and that after they had mastered the Rhine, they would soon do the same by this country and Flanders.

This morning I heard that five of the greatest towns in Holland, next Amsterdam, and three of the Chiefs in North Holland, as well as the Nobles, were certainly fixed in not ratifying their treaty without Spain: and that some of them were resolved to fall personally upon Monsieur Valkener, who had absolutely governed Amsterdam in the opinion they had taken, and with whom Monsieur Van Lewen had a sharp and personal brush the last day the States of Holland were assembled. How late they may sit to-day I know not, but hope I may, before the closure of this pacquet, give your Lordship some account how the debate runs; though I do not expect this sitting should end it.

Having given your Lordship such a particular account of those persons thoughts upon it, which I esteem most considerable here, and who are least likely to be deceived, I shall not add any judgment of my own, which ends but in one point I mentioned in my last to your Lordship, that all instructions his Majesty can give to any man here, ought to be executed (and directed to be so) in concert

with the Prince, in case his judgment upon them were not had before: and Mr. Hyde is most absolutely of this opinion; and wishes often, that such a clause had been in his, in case he should find the Prince here: for want of it he has been engaged to pursue his instructions already, farther than he thought the thing would well bear; and is in great pain what to do upon the last point of them, about his Majesty's resolution to recal his troops, in case the States fall not into his Majesty's present mind upon the treaty; which the Prince and Pensioner hitherto are of opinion would be a most destructive pace to the whole business. I am ever, with equal passion and truth, my Lord, your, &c.

To the Prince Elector Palatine.

Hague, Sept. 8, N. S. 1678.

May it please your Highness,

I RECEIVED some time since the honour of a letter from your Highness, of July 29, by the conveyance of my Lord Ambassador Jenkins, and should not have failed immediately to make that return which became me, in the acknowledgment of it, if it had found me in my station at Nimeguen, as your Highness intended. But being divided between these two embassies, and finding the duties of them sometimes different, I cannot pretend to charge myself with any parts of my function as a mediator there, while I find myself engaged in another sort of figure during my abode here. Besides, I was willing to see what paces his Majesty might think fit to make or decline in the business of a general peace, before I gave myself the honour of entertaining your Highness upon the share you are like to have in it. But since the King has thought fit to propose a cessation of six months in order towards it, I shall presume to tell your Highness my opinion, freely,

upon those two points, wherein Monsieur Spanheim told me you were pleased chiefly to concern yourself.

For the first, about Philipsburg, I do not see how a peace between France and the Empire can be pursued upon any other foot, than what your Highness proposes to yourself in that matter; so that I believe a general necessity will therein serve to advance and to effect a particular interest which your Highness lays so much to heart, and with so much reason.

For the other pretension, of relief and reparation of the great damages your Highness has suffered by the war; since your Highness intends (and, I think, prudently) to insist no farther upon it, than by engaging his Majesty's offices and instances towards France; I think your Highness will do better to procure them immediately by your Minister at London, to be transmitted from Court to the King's Ambassador at Paris, with orders to pursue and value them there, as a particular and domestic concernment which his Majesty takes in your Highness's interest, rather than trust to their being handed over to the King's Ambassadors Mediators at Nimeguen, perhaps, in a crowd of many other Princes pretensions, which may all be recommended in his Majesty's name, and by his Ministers there, but not with that earnestness and distinction which I should be glad the Crown of England would express, upon all occasions, in what concerns your Highness or your family.

I beg your Highness's pardon for so long an interruption, and your belief of my being ever, with great devotion and truth, Sir, your Highness's, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord, Hague, Sept. 20, N. S. 1678.

YOUR Lordship will have found by my last to Mr. Secretary Williamson, what the great affair here was like to end in; and by Mr. Hyde's this ordidary, that it has absolutely taken that ply which was then designed by the Prince and Pensioner, and approved by Monsieur de Lyra as all that could be wished; or, at least, that they could propose to themselves, after the course it has run for these two or three months past. The circumstances with which it was concluded yesterday may be worth his Majesty's knowledge; and therefore I thought fit to trouble your Lordship with them.

When it was proposed in the form I mentioned in my last, the town of Amsterdam opposed it, and said absolutely, they had no orders from their principals, farther than barely to ratify the treaty, without other circumstances or conditions: that for any security could be proposed to the Spaniards in their treaty, or afterwards for Flanders, it was provided for sufficiently in the article between his Majesty and this State, concerning a guaranty to be given by them jointly for the peace between France and Spain.

In this proposition the town of Amsterdam (which used ever to have one or two of the great towns in close intelligence with them, and two or three of the small ones in a servile dependence) had now the ill-luck not to be seconded by any one town of the whole province of Holland; but all of them ran down the Deputies of that town with such violence, and particular resentment against their conduct in the whole course of this negotiation, that they suffered the thing to pass without any farther debate or opposition, and to be drawn

up with all the strength that the Prince could desire, both as to the Dutch Ambassadors declaring to the French at Nimeguen, upon delivering the ratifications, that it was done upon this condition, that the treaty likewise with Spain should be ratified by the time limited, and afterwards duly executed; or else, that the treaty should be wholly void: and also to the States declaring to his Majesty, that in default of such performance, the late treaty between his Majesty and this State should take effect; and *le cas du traité seroit tenu pour écheu.*

In the whole course of this affair, which held in the States of Holland from three yesterday afternoon till six, and afterwards passed in the States-General, all the towns of Holland, except Amsterdam, as well as all the other provinces, declared in all their whole discourses upon this whole subject, that they owed the peace and restitution of the towns, and the saving of Flanders, wholly to his Majesty: that, without the last treaty, they saw plainly France would have yielded to no terms with Spain, nor have made good their own offers, in several points, to this State: that nothing but a firm union of this State with England could make any stop against the ambition and greatness of France; and therefore that they must ever stick firm to the alliance with the Crown of England, and look upon it as their *salvator;* which was the word that ran among them. And the Prince himself told me, that he never saw such a firmness generally among them as was upon this point; nor such a confusion and silence as that of the Deputies of Amsterdam upon it.

After this was done, the Nobles of Holland, being the first members of the province, taking occasion from a protest which the town of Amsterdam had put in some days since, against those which in-

tended to difficult or delay the ratification with France, brought in formally a counter-protest against the town of Amsterdam, ripping up their whole conduct in the course of this affair, laying this peace at their doors, and the ruinous consequence of it to the present trade of these countries, as well as to the interest of this State, and the Princes their neighbours and allies; especially upon the points of Cleves and Juliers; and protesting the town of Amsterdam to be answerable for all the mischiefs that could any way come upon this State, by reason of such an unsafe and infamous peace.

Upon the reading of it, Monsieur Valkener turned pale as a clout, so as every body took notice of it; and after it was read, the Deputies of that town all confessed, that the Nobles had reason in all they alledged, and that they had only one thing to say for themselves, which was, the plea of necessity; having been of opinion, it was impossible for the State to support the war any longer.

Thus your Lordship will find how true a measure I gave his Majesty of this country, upon my last return from Nimeguen after Du Cros's errand, both as to what effect his Majesty's steadiness and firmness would have in advancing the Prince's credit and interest, and devolving the whole dependence of this State upon his Majesty; and likewise as to what effect every loose pace we made with them would certainly have, in throwing them wholly upon France, even in spite of all the Prince should be able to do in restraining them. I will only add now my own opinion as to what will follow the peace; which is, that whereas it has been the general thought, that the Prince's authority was kept up by the war, and would decline upon the peace; I believe quite the contrary, and that it will very much increase upon the peace itself, because every

body will see by the course of affairs afterwards, that the Prince was all this while in the true interests of the country; and that those who advanced such a peace as this, were certainly out of it, either upon faction, or corruption, or want of good sense: and by what I hear of the town of Amsterdam themselves, I believe these two or three men that have led them in this course, will certainly come in a little time to lose their credit; and I have some reason to think, Monsieur Valkener would already be glad to compound for that.

I cannot but add one word which passed last night between the Prince and me upon this occasion; which was, that I had not known a bolder action of one that was counted a timorous man, than this of Valkener, to set himself up at the head of a party here in opposition to his Highness; not only in regard of his authority in the State, or his *appuy* from England; but chiefly in regard of his Highness being so absolute in the interests of the country: for otherwise, I should not think it a bold thing, if Valkener were in it, and his Highness out of it. Upon which the Prince replied, 'No; but on the contrary, it would be a bold thing for me to be out of it; and those that have been so, you will see ruined, even by the peace they have promoted.'

In short, his Majesty's firmness, and the Prince's saying of Mons, have brought the thing to this head, and left his Highness in the posture he stands. It will, I doubt not, continue while his Majesty is firm and steady in his present measures; and France is so sensible of the ill pace they have made in the first difficulty about evacuating the towns, that the several Ministers of that Crown make it their business to clear themselves of it; since they find it will not pass here, to throw it upon the Swedes: but I do not see how they can ever recover the

trust they have lost by it in this country, nor the credit of their party here.

Your Lordship will find in Mr. Hyde's letter two points upon which the Prince desired us to write this ordinary; one about the satisfaction of his debts from Spain by the cession of Maestricht; the other about the Princess's portion. The introduction he gave them was, that now he saw all public business draw to an end here, he would begin to think of his own.

Upon the first, I having seen his Highness since Mr. Hyde, I advised a turn in it which he approved of; that was, not to pretend absolutely a cession of Maestricht and Limburgh at present, but only that Spain should leave them in the hands of the Prince, till they found out a way of acquitting his debts; the difficulties whereof will, in all appearance, put them upon this expedient themselves: this I offered, because I knew Monsieur de Lyra had seemed much surprised and shocked at this proposition this morning from the Pensioner, though I have reason to believe they are not unprepared for it at Madrid. The Prince desires the orders his Majesty sends to his several Ambassadors upon this subject may run in that form.

For the other, about the portion, he desires his Majesty will either pay it by the proportions of times agreed on, or else by setting apart such a sum of the monthly tax given by the Parliament, and including this portion, as will make the payment within the time agreed on, which is, I think, about 4000*l. per* month, there being one of the two years already past.

Your Lordship will have observed in my last letter to Mr. Secretary Williamson, the mention of one I had received from the King to the States and

myself, about two ships taken three years since by a Zealand caper.

The letters came through Mr. Secretary Williamson's office; but in such a style, as Mr. Hyde and I were equally amazed, considering the game that was playing here, whether this State should take their measures with England or with France: so we both resolved it should first be shewed the Prince. The matter was, of itself, in a way of being dispatched, and not in all above the value of two or three thousand pounds; and coming without any line from the Secretary himself, we took them to be things of form, and procured only by the solicitation of the parties, and without any reflections of his Majesty's. When I shewed it the Prince, he said, that he hoped I considered the King's service here more than to deliver such a letter: that he was sure the King never saw it: that it was a letter to have been writ in 1671, when the King was resolved to quarrel with this State; and not now, when he was fallen into measures with them. Nay, he was confident Mr. Secretary had taken the draught of the letters that were written then, and had only changed the names; that the States would certainly interpret it, that his Majesty had resolved still to quarrel with them, and had taken his measures again with France, which would make them try to do so too: that in all the dispositions of that King here, Zealand had still been most inclined to England, with whom this breach is threatened to begin: for, entering into it with the Admiralty there, was, in effect, with the whole province. In short, he said it would be absolutely necessary to suppress the letter till I had farther orders; but that he would undertake this business should certainly be done.

I send your Lordship a copy of the letter, which

was directed to me, or the secretary of the embassy here in my absence; so that if I had not been upon the place, he had certainly delivered it the next morning. And, which the Prince thought very hard too, a copy of the letter was given to the persons that solicit it here; so that I was fain to desire them to keep it up to themselves, till they found whether I could do their business or no without it. This puts me in mind of repeating again what I writ to your Lordship upon my last return from Nimeguen, of the necessity there would be, while his Majesty continues his measures here as they are, for his Ministers to act upon concert with his Highness; at least, till they had made a representation to his Majesty, upon their orders, of such consequences as could not be, or were not foreseen in England when they were issued. I told the Prince, at his return from the campaign, the first time that Mr. Hyde and I attended him, that I had written to your Lordship upon this subject, and what you had returned of the commission the King had given you, to assure his Highness of his Majesty's resolution in it. The Prince said to us both upon it, that the truth was, if his Majesty considered him as perfectly in his own interest, it ought to be so; and that the Prince ought to be the King's Ambassador here; and, in that case, he should be able to serve his Majesty: which were just his words, and I thought fit to let your Lordship know them; because, notwithstanding what you were pleased to say, I neither observe any such directions to me since, either in general, or in this particular; nor any to Mr. Hyde, at his coming away, though he brought an instruction with him, which would absolutely have spoiled the King's business here, if, at the Prince's desire, he had not suppressed it. And it is a very hard case for an Ambassador either to hinder his Master's ser-

vice (perhaps ruin it), or else, by suppressing an order, to lie under the lash of a Secretary, who, perhaps, would be pleased with making others smart for his own faults.

There is a paper lately sent over to be presented his Majesty from the Lunenburgh Ministers at Nimeguen, about a difficulty they have met with in seeing Sir Lionel Jenkins, though they pretend to have satisfied the forms his Majesty requires, as to the competition with the Emperor. All I shall say upon it is, that Sir Lionel Jenkins is bound up by such strict orders in these points, that I do not see how he can possibly with them perform the part of a mediator; being absolutely bound up already from seeing one of the Spanish, Danish, and Dutch embassies, and now these of Lunenburgh, so much as in third places, or ordinary conversation or business: to either of which I never understood how such orders should be tied, or why that should go any farther than the business or visits of ceremony.

I ask your Lordship's pardon for the length of this trouble, which was intended only to give you such lights as I thought might be necessary, and you would not, perhaps, receive from any other hand. I am ever, my Lord, your, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord, Hague, Sept 23, N. S. 1678.

Since my last to your Grace, nothing hath passed here but what you will have foreseen, which ended with Mr. Hyde's proposition from his Majesty. The States excused themselves from any formal answer to it for some time, not knowing how the difficulties between France and Spain were like to determine. The French Ambassadors at Nimeguen seemed peremptory in their demands, espe-

cially of Beaumont, and the chatelenye of Aeth; but at length submitted themselves to the arbitrage of this State, as the Spaniards had done to his Majesty and them. Monsieur d'Avaux came post hither from Nimeguen to support his Master's right upon this arbitrage, which was to be dispatched in five days, so as to make way for signing the peace with Spain, before the last day left for the ratifications with this State, which was the 21st current. But before he had been two days here, a courier came to him with news that the King of France had generously remitted both points to the Spaniards, without any arbitrage, so as the peace was to be signed on Saturday last the 17th. This was done, and the States on Monday resolved to exchange their ratifications with France; but at the same time to declare, that it was upon condition of their performing the treaty with Spain; if not, this between them and France to be void. Before this, they resolved likewise to give Mr. Hyde and me their formal answer to his Majesty's last proposition, that though France had signed the treaty with Spain, and theirs with France would thereupon be ratified, yet they had declared to his Majesty, it was with this resolution, that if France either refused to ratify their treaty with Spain, or to perform afterwards the conditions of it, this State should hold *le cas du dernier traité avec sa Majesté pour échû;* and should be ready to perform the condition of it.

This was all the Prince himself proposed to bring it to here, since the game had gone too far to be recovered in any other manner, and the town of Amsterdam was against this itself.

Upon the exchange of ratifications made at Nimeguen between France and this State, on Wednesday, in pursuance of this answer from the States, Mr. Hyde embarked yesterday morning for

England, and with him my Lord Ossory, resolved to see your Grace in Ireland, before any thoughts of returning hither. All that is now left to be done is, to enter into guaranties with this State for what remains of Flanders, and to try if the progress of France upon the Rhine may be prevented by any steps towards a general peace: the first whereof, and which the Prince is much concerned in, has been made already, by his Majesty's proposition at Nimeguen for a general suspension of arms; which France yet refuses to come to upon the score of Sweden, as they give out; but, as others believe, upon their own. I am, my Lord, your Grace's, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord, Hague, Oct. 7, N. S. 1678.

By my letter this ordinary to Mr. Secretary Williamson, your Lordship will find an account of my late journey to Amsterdam, and to the Prince at Hoogshoore, about twenty-four leagues from this place, with one part of the errand that occasioned it, and the success of it. There were two other occasions which led me to it, that I thought not fit to mention in a letter which must pass so many eyes; reserving them for yourself, and, by your means, for his Majesty and Royal Highness; since one of them had its rise in private confidence from the Prince, and the other from your Lordship's last letter; wherein you seemed so desirous of knowing his opinion upon two points of great consequence, which I thought it necessary you should be satisfied in by the first, without attending the Prince's return, which was like to draw out into some length.

Upon his Highness leaving the town last, he very earnestly recommended to me the making a journey to Amsterdam; not only for discovering their

minds there as to the point of the guaranty, of which I have given Mr. Secretary an account, but likewise as to the manner they are like to live with the Prince hereafter, now the peace is made; since their carriage in the late debate here about Maestricht gave the Prince a suspicion that they were resolved to do it declaredly, upon all occasions, against his opinion and interests, however united with the sense of the other Provinces, and even the rest of the towns in this: at least, he believed Monsieur Valkener would act that part. But that his Highness might the better take his measures, he desired to have some certain light, both as to his particular resolutions, and how he was likely to be seconded in them by Monsieur Hoeft; that is, how far supported, or where deserted, in them. For the town of Amsterdam is absolutely governed by these two men, without any other person so much as pretending at present any share in it. I have had long discourses with them both, and not only together, but separately; and, as the Prince thinks, very much to the advantage of his affairs and service here. Monsieur Valkener, who is a very thoughtful, designing, and covered man, yet went so far with me, as to say plainly at last, that, for his part, he should ever shew as much respect to his Highness's person and interests as any man in the country, while he kept within the established constitutions of the State; but if upon any occasion he should offer to go beyond them, he must oppose it as far as he could; and believed not only that his town would do so too, but that they would be applauded in it by the other towns of this Province; who might yet in the States, upon other respects, give opinions different from them: that there were two different sorts of people for the Prince to make use of here; one that were fit to follow him at Court, in his hunting and entertainments; another that

were fit for the magistracy of this country, and had generally a reputation not only of good patriots, but of men of ability and honesty, and such as the people generally were content to trust: that he needed not name any such men, the Prince could not fail of knowing them; for if he did not by his own observing, common fame would tell him who they were in every town: and that, if the Prince would have all go easy and unanimous here, he must, when he had any thing to propose in the States, first send for some of these men from the several towns, and discourse it with them apart; if he found they agreed in opinion about it, he might reckon the thing would certainly and easily pass in the States; if they differed, he should then send for them to talk it over with them together, and tell them he found they were of several minds, and therefore he desired they would reason it with one another before him; which would produce an agreement one way or other among them, as well as the debates here in the States had in a manner ever done; and accordingly his Highness might take his certain measures.

Monsieur Hoeft, who is a much franker man, and of greater credit, though less opinions than the other, went farther with me: for after some things of the same kind about the Prince's consulting with persons trusted and esteemed in their towns, taking his measures previously with those of Amsterdam as well as other towns, which were publicly known to be at his devotion; not confining his conversation to very few persons, and of another sort, nor the consultations of business to any one or two men alone; he ended with me at last in this conclusion, that nothing was so necessary here as a perfect union between the Prince and States, and the taking away all appearance of the least difference between them, which would but let France in-

to the state, by siding with one party or other, and with either of them just as would serve their present turn. That for his part, he was so sensible of this, and had such an opinion of the Prince, both as to his moderation, and his understanding his own interest aright to be perfectly joined with those of the country, that, notwithstanding all jealousies which had unhappily been raised here, or might be so hereafter, perhaps industriously, he was absolutely resolved he would trust the Prince till he should see him engaged in courses against the interests and liberties of the State. That in such a case he should enter into the *bonne partie*, and oppose it according to his duty: but that, in the mean time, he would not go about to hurt both his country and the Prince too, by increasing any difference between them, upon suspicions or jealousies that he did not see a plain ground for.

As to particular occasions of difference between the Prince and States now after the peace, he would not see any; unless it should happen about a second reduction of the army, and to such a proportion as might be maintained by the ordinary revenue of the country. But when I told him the time of proposing this was chiefly considerable, whether before they should see the general peace made, or France likewise begin to disarm; and upon this itself they ought to debate the whole thing privately with the Prince of Orange, before they brought it into the States; he told me, he thought I had reason, and he should be of that mind; and ended with saying many things of the greatest esteem that could be of the Prince, and very much kindness to his person and interests; desiring me to give his Highness the assurance of it.

Upon my report of all this to the Prince, he seemed to be extremely pleased with it, and said, I had made a journey to mighty good purpose; and he

should make so good a use of it, that he doubted not to be able to give good account of this country, as to what should be their part in the general concerns of Christendom, provided his Majesty would be but steady in the pursuit of his measures here.

After this I shewed him your Lordship's letter, desiring to know his opinion about his Majesty's reconciling with France in something about Sweden, and entering into measures with them in behalf of that Crown; and likewise about a match with that King to Lady Anne, in case it should be pursued. The Prince read it twice over, and very thoughtfully; and after some pause said, that he could not tell on the sudden what to think of this letter: that upon his first reading of those lines about reconciling with France in something of Sweden, he was as much amazed as the stag was that day at the first blow that was given him. That he had no reason to believe, by the last letters he received from the Duke, or from your Lordship, that there was any change in our counsels in England, from the late measures we had taken of preserving Europe from the design of France upon it. That yet he could not imagine how any body should think we could reconcile with France for restoring Sweden, without breaking all the measures we had lately taken, and returning absolutely into our former ones with France. That this was certainly an artifice of the French, who saw they could not close with us directly upon any thing between ourselves, and so they would ground it upon the business of Sweden; which would be in effect the same thing, and bring the business of Europe just where it was four or five years ago. That Sweden made no pace, nor used no language, but as they were directed by France; and so he was sure they were in this. That the effect of any such agreement between us and France would be the King's wholly losing all his

credit, not only with the Empire and Spain, as returning into the French interests, by embracing those of Sweden, which were wholly joined with them, but it would likewise shake it here too, and make them return to the opinion they have so long had in this country, that the King would never heartily break from France: and that the effect of this would be, to make the States run into the interests of that Crown, as a thing which must befal them, and without remedy: and that nothing could be more ruinous than this to the affairs of his Majesty here, nor to those particularly of his Highness. That upon any measures which could be taken between his Majesty and France, for the restoring Sweden, the first action on the French side must be the invading Cleve and Wesel, and the rest of the Duke of Brandenburgh's territories adjoining; which will not only let in the French into the Empire on that side, but make them in as great a measure masters of this country (of which Cleves and Juliers have ever been esteemed the very key), as they could have been by their conquests in Flanders. And that his Highness does not apprehend how his Majesty can take part in such an action; and which must have consequences so directly opposite to all the measures he has lately taken, and to the offers he has made this State about the security of Cleves and Juliers. That, as far as his Highness understands, his Majesty's interests and that of the Crown of England are, after the peace, to enter into such measures with this State, the Emperor, and the Princes of the Empire, as may preserve Flanders, and keep France from overturning the world any farther: to live fairly with France, but to enter into no new measures with them; so that upon any ill talent of France, about what his Majesty has already done in the saving Flanders, he may have the Empire ready to fall into his in-

terests, as he has this State already engaged by a defensive league, in case of France's attacking us. And for Sweden, he does not see how his Majesty can go farther than to induce them first to a suspension of arms, and afterwards to some reasonable terms in a peace.

That, for the match between the King and Lady Anne, his Highness knows nothing against it, if the King and Duke think it fit, unless it be the time of doing or treating it; which he believes cannot be before the general peace is made; because it will otherwise have those effects beforementioned, especially if accompanied by engagements with France; unless it should be treated upon the foot of Sweden's consenting to such terms of a peace as the confederates should be likely to fall in with.

This was the substance of the several and large discourses which his Highness made me upon this occasion, and with much concernment; desiring me to represent them to your Lordship at large, as he would write in short his thoughts to you upon them by this post.

After this he took notice of the passage in your Lordship's letter, about the King intending to command my return in a short time; and said upon it, that it could not be fit at the present; but that he would talk with me about the time of it, after the evacuation of the places in Flanders, and the treaty of guaranty here should be finished; which being the first steps after the peace, would be of the greatest importance, and declare the intention of this State as to their measures hereafter with England and with France. That whenever I left this post, it would be absolutely necessary for his Majesty to have an Ambassador here, and not a less character, since the French were resolved ever to have one; and that it would extremely import his

Highness what sort of person he sent over; for unless it should be one that might live in confidence with him, and have credit in the country here, it were better have none at all. I am, &c.

To the Duke of York.

Hague, Oct. 11, N. S. 1678.

May it please your Highness,

I RECEIVED yesterday morning, by Mr. White, the honour of a letter from your Highness, with a command which it will be very difficult to perform here; I mean that of helping her Highness to be *incognito* in this place. The Prince being yet absent, and the Pensioner too, I spoke of it to Monsieur Van Lewen, who was hard to be persuaded that the honours due to her Highness by the States, upon such occasion, should not be performed solemnly at her landing. But having acquainted him with the absoluteness of your Highness's command, both by your letter, and particularly by Mr. White, I prevailed with him to make no mention of it in the States till the Prince's return; and this, I hope, may be to-night, or to-morrow at farthest.

For a house to receive her Highness and Lady Anne, with their attendants, there was no choice at all in it; and so the Princess Dowager's house is making ready for this purpose; and will, I doubt not, be in order by to-morrow. I could not persuade Sir Gabriel Sylvius and Mr. White to allow me any other part in this care, besides leaving the whole house empty; which I did early this morning, and them, with the Prince's servants, in all the diligence that could be, of preparing it for her Highness's reception: who, besides the honour of such a piece of gallantry, will have certainly a very great satisfaction in seeing here such a Princess, as, in all kinds, I do believe, is very hard to be seen

any where else. I wish the weather but as fair as the wind, and then, I hope, this adventure will be very soon and very happily atchieved.

I beg your Highness's leave, upon this occasion, to give you an account of another command I received from your Highness at my coming away; which was, to speak at large to the Prince about some particulars in his way of living and conversing here, that your Highness thought of great consequence to his affairs in this country. I did not find an opportunity that made way for it, till now of late, since matters here seemed to fix a little upon the conclusion of the peace with Spain, which gave his Highness occasion of discoursing with me several times upon this new scene of affairs, and employing my offices to discover how the town of Amsterdam was like to live with him after the peace. I gave my Lord Treasurer, by last post, a large account of what had passed between me and the two ruling Burgomasters there, upon this subject; and shall now only add to it, that having represented all that matter to the Prince at Hoogshoore, and, upon that occasion, the full scope of your Highness's thoughts, he seemed extremely satisfied with both; and assured me, that as there were many applications which might be made in a time of peace, and could not, while his thoughts were wholly taken up with the war; so he should not now neglect them, though he might hitherto have done it: that he should fall into a new ply; and that he doubted not to give a good account of this State, in all the public concernments of Christendom, if his Majesty could resolve to be steady in the measures he had fallen into of late.

I should not have given your Highness so long a trouble, but that I thought you would not be displeased with the knowledge of this particular; and in it my obedience to that command of your High-

ness, of writing without ceremony. I am very confident you will believe it to be without any at all; when I assure your Highness of my being ever with the greatest passion and truth that can be, Sir, your Highness's, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, October 11, N. S. 1678.

SINCE my last of the 7th, wherein I gave you a large account of my late journey to Amsterdam, and to the Prince in the Veloue; and what thoughts and intentions I had met with in both places, about the business of the guaranty; I have likewise given part to the Pensioner of all that passed there, with which he was very much satisfied. But thinking it of the last importance that the thing should meet with no difficulty, after it came once to be proposed here; he was divided in the opinion, whether to let it alone till the next session of the State of Holland, which begins next month; because then it might be passed in two days time, without sending it to the towns, the Deputies being here; or, whether the Prince, the Pensioner, and Monsieur Van Lewen to digest the matter with me here into the form and articles of a treaty; and then for me to go with it, and engage the consent of Amsterdam to it, even before the next assembly of the State. He concluded, that we must expect the Prince's advice upon it; and was, I believe, the more fixed in it, by being himself resolved to go again out of town, after one day's stay here, with intention of not coming back till the Prince's return; which we now expect will be this evening or to-morrow: so as by next post I may possibly give you a farther account of this matter; and I hope I may, in the mean time, receive his Majesty's thoughts upon that project in

general, which I gave of it from the Prince and Pensioner's discourses, about a fortnight since.

I told you in my last, of the States deputation, on Friday last, to Monsieur d'Avaux, about the evacuation of Maestricht, the general peace, and the quiet of the neighbourhood, especially Juliers and Cleves: I find by Monsieur Van Lewen, who was one of the Deputies, that his answer was, as to the first, that he had yet no orders; but would that night dispatch away an express, and hopes to give them some account of it within four days. For the second, that his Master was well disposed to the general peace, and a suspension of arms in order towards it, if his allies could be induced to it. For the third, that it was a thing the King his Master reserved to treat with the Ambassadors of this State in France, where he had expected them any time these two months, though they were not yet gone. That, in the mean time, the proceedings of the Duke of Brandenburgh were such in Pomerania, as would of necessity oblige the King his Master to invade his territories upon the Rhine; having no other way to make a diversion. Though what towns he should take there, would be without any intention of keeping them.

Monsieur Van Lewen added to me, that he wondered to hear Monsieur d'Avaux speak so frankly in this matter, as well as in what concerned his Majesty's mediation; that there was now no need of it in any thing between France and this State; and that in all things which concern their neighbours or allies, the King his master would rather have the States to interpose their mediation, than his Majesty. And he said, though it passed in discourse, and not at the conference, yet being a man of reserve, he believed it would not have been said without order, and being first weighed.

Yesterday Monsieur d'Avaux let the States know, that the King his Master, not to retard the evacuation of the Spanish towns, would draw off his forces now in Flanders, to Huy (a town between Namur and Liege), which he intended to fortify; and finding there were seven or eight hundred men of this State at present in it, he desired they would order them to march out, this being a town of the Empire; and the States being obliged by their treaty to assist none of the enemies of France. I find them here a little surprised with this, and some delays that are yet made in the delivery of Maestricht; but no return, I believe, will be made, till the Prince be consulted after his return to this place. I am ever, Sir, your, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord; Hague, December 6, N. S. 1678.

I was so infinitely obliged, by the kindness and confidence of a letter I had this day the honour of receiving from your Lordship, by Mr. Hales, that I could not delay the acknowledging of it by this post; though to do that as I ought, will, I doubt, be as hard as to deserve it. And, I fear, to interrupt your Lordship, at a time so busy as this, will be a greater fault than any omission would have been. I had not before any true prospect of the present scene; and though your Lordship has given me so much light, yet it serves rather to represent the sadness of it, than to discover any remedy to such fatal distempers as have been long breeding, and are now so violently broken out, in our poor unfortunate nation. God alone can be the physician, who governs the hearts of Princes, and the humours of people: for to think of advice from any other, in so many cross accidents, both at home and abroad, as meet to make up this violent crisis,

is too great a compliment to put upon any man; and if your Lordship could hope for it, in my opinion, it ought to be from yourself, who have best been able to observe the spring and growth of this distemper, with the dispositions of the body: and by that, as well as by your own natural prudence, must be fitter than any other person to make a judgment upon it. For my own part, it would be more presumption in me than in any man to offer at it, upon many regards; besides that of the distance I am at, and have been so long, and so often, for a great part of my life. Nor do I know one quality to make me fit for it, unless it be not only as near and as sensible, but as unpassioned and as uninterested concernment in the true good and service of my Master and my country, as any man can have. And for this reason, and because your Lordship hath used many times to ask me so kindly, and hear me so favourably, upon smaller occasions; and because I take you to be equally concerned with the public in this, it shall go hard but I will find a way of telling your Lordship, by some hand or other, and in very few words, all that I have been able to think upon it; which can do no hurt, because you may forget it as soon as it is done.

For any accounts of foreign affairs, which your Lordship might have expected if I had come over; the whole course of my dispatches, since I left England last, will better inform any body than I myself could do; as having been constant and particular, and thereby containing many things I have forgot. For the question you are pleased to ask about the peace, I cannot add one word to that short account your Lordship will meet with in my letter this post to Sir Joseph Williamson; unless it be, that nothing seems to me, at present, so necessary in the foreign affairs, as for his Majesty to dispatch away some minister to Spain, whose chief instruction should

be, to watch any motion of counsels or negotiations there, for the exchange of Flanders; to divert them from any such thoughts, by the greatest assurance of his Majesty's resolving to take it into his constant care and protection: and so to represent the state of our present disorders themselves, as not to dishearten that Court in the hopes that his Majesty may yet be able to perform effectually, what he intends and promises in that matter. I think the dispatch of this so much the more necessary, because, I doubt, the present Minister there may, in this conjuncture, be a very ill instrument in such an affair; and be possibly inclined to promote other ends, in what concerneth that very business of Flanders, and any exchange of it.

For Mr. Montague, I have neither deserved such offices your Lordship speaks of, nor shall trouble myself about making such returns. I am infinitely obliged to your Lordship for the enquiries you say you will make; and shall be very glad to know my faults, from my enemies as well as my friends; because which way soever I find them, I shall make the same use, that is, to mend them. I stand always upon the ground of having never done either an unjust, or ungentlemanly action in my life; or an unfaithful one to the service of my Master or my country. And whoever may be persuaded otherwise of me, by whisperers or malice, I shall leave to their own opinions, till they please to make fair enquiries; and concern myself no farther in them nor the consequences. Having, I thank God, at heart, neither hopes to serve, nor faults to answer for.

As to Sir Henry Capel, I should be very sorry to think he meant ill to the Crown or kingdom, because I always thought otherwise of him; and cannot reproach myself to have often been deceived by my friends; and, whenever I am, believe I

have not more reason to quarrel with them, than with myself for choosing them. For his unkindness to me, I will at least be as just, as I desire others to be to me; which is, to hear first what he saith of it, before I judge. For any to your Lordship, I shall not easily forgive; because I do not think you have deserved it, upon any public considerations; which are all that should lead him in his present figure. For if your Lordship had not served his Majesty, and the true interests of his Crowns, with perfect good intention to both, and the best of your power, you have, I am sure, deceived me; which few of my friends, I confess, have done: and, I am confident, your Lordship will never be of that number. I am, my Lord, your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Hague, Dec. 30, N. S. 1678.

Since my last of the 27th, I have none from you, the contrary winds having now left three pacquets due from England. All the towns of Holland have agreed to the advice of the States General, about deferring the reform, as I mentioned in my last, except Amsterdam alone. What their answer will prove at last, I cannot yet tell; nor whether one man alone, as the head of a single town, will set up directly against all the other towns of this province, as well as against all the other provinces; and in a matter appearing to them of so great importance to the State. For though the peace be made both by this State and Spain, and though the French have yet raised no difficulties upon restoring the towns to the Spaniards; yet they have declared, they intended to keep their forces in Flanders, till they are satisfied in what they demand, as remaining due of their contributions, which

amounts to near two hundred thousand pistoles. And for this country, though they have delivered up Maestricht, yet they have demanded Hasselt and Maseyck, by which it would be cut off from the rest of these territories, and have this week posted themselves between Maestricht and Hasselt on one side, and Maestricht and Maseyck on the other; so as neither boat nor waggon can go from these provinces to Maestricht, but must pass through their quarters; and that town is not yet provided, in any proportion, of cannon or magazines necessary for their defence. Besides, it is known here, that the French Ministers and officers lie ready to take into their service immediately all the troops which this State shall disband; and the last letters from their Ambassadors at Paris gave them yet farther apprehensions of the conduct they are to expect from the French. For Monsieur Borel, who is of Amsterdam, and was deep in the cabal of promoting the peace, writes plainly, that he expects nothing from that Court, upon any of their pretensions: that they were grown so insolent with their prosperity, and the ill posture of all their neighbours, as not to trouble themselves with giving reasons, or receiving them upon any thing they treated. To this in general, he writes two particulars, that were something more surprising; the first was, that Monsieur Pompone had told him, that the King his Master ordered him to take notice of the Prince having turned out the Catholic Magistrates at Maestricht, and put the Protestants in their room, as a thing contrary to his treaty with this State. The second, that Monsieur de Louvoy had told him, upon discourse of the remaining contributions of Breda, that the King his Master had heard what the Prince of Orange had said to the States in the deliberations upon that matter; *et le trouvoit mauvais; et que le Prince*

avoit parlé trop fierement. Upon the first point, the States Deputies thought fit to discharge the Prince, by taking upon themselves what he had only acted by their orders, and to defend their having acted nothing contrary to the treaty, or innovated any thing in matter of religion at Maestricht; but that, on the other side, the French had no right to concern themselves in what the States did in the government of a town, which was now become again their own. Upon the second point, which touched only the Prince, his Highness said, that though the States knew he had never spoke any thing upon that occasion which might deserve that term, yet he was of opinion, no answer should be made upon it: that he was born in a free republic, and that it had so continued hitherto; he could not tell how long it might do so, at the rate they were now treated; but that, while he lived in it, he would, according to his duty, give his advice, and speak his opinion freely in it, without giving account to any of what he said, but to God alone.

These particulars have yet gone no farther than the Deputies of foreign affairs, and so you will please may not yet be public: but they have occasioned very melancholic reflections among them, considering what a condition this peace has already brought them into, and what farther consequences they may expect of it, upon the unhappy posture of affairs in England, from whence alone they were to hope for support. You will guess by your dispatches this post from Nimeguen, at least as well as we can here, what issue may be expected from the parties beginning to enter into conference there. For my part, I am able to make no conjecture, nor whether a peace with the Emperor will contribute to the safety, or increase the danger, of these countries, and the Spanish Netherlands, if the French army continue possessed of

Liege, and the other parts necessary for their making war upon the Duke of Brandenburgh, as they pretend, in favour of the Swedes. I am, ever, &c.

To Sir Lionel Jenkins.

My Lord, Hague, Jan. 20, N. S. 1678.

I HAVE this morning your letters of yesterday's date, with the inclosed papers, by which I am apt to conjecture, that the peace between the Emperor and France is drawing towards a period; and, very probably, by the last of this month, being the term last limited by France upon the present conditions: I shall therefore prepare myself for my journey towards you, and begin it when you find it necessary for me, 'To assist at the signing of the peace, and what other acts shall necessarily require a *quorum* of our commission.' Which are the words of the order I received upon this occasion, in a letter from Mr. Secretary Williamson, dated the 29th of October past.

Your Lordship, I find, apprehends whether you shall have notice given you by the parties of their concluding the affair time enough to give me warning of my journey; which, with the other complaints you make, of the little confidence you are in with them, makes me doubt, whether their intentions be, that we should sign, or no: for, by their own first draught of the preface, it was plain they did not intend it: and though your Lordship received orders upon that point, 'to make no difficulty to sign as mediators,' in Mr. Secretary's letter to you of October 29th, and farther orders about the part his Majesty expected in the style of the preface by his letter of December 3d; yet I do not find by any of your letters, that the parties have either expressed their desire or intention,

that we should sign as mediators, or their assent to what your Lordship proposed as to his Majesty's part in the preface. I have other reasons to be a little doubtful how this matter may pass, and one particularly this very morning from Monsieur d'Avaux having said, in a conference with the Deputies of this State, upon discourse of the treaty, that the parties now treating being of the same religion, the whole business was in the Nuncio's hands. I have likewise the opinions of others here besides my own, that it would be to expose the King's honour too much, for me to go expressly upon the place to sign the treaty, and when I came there, not to be admitted to it. Therefore, to clear all this matter, I humbly offer to your Lordship, whether, seeing the present approaches between the parties, you will not take occasion to let them know, that having formerly acquainted them with the orders you had received, to be ready to sign the treaty, and with the part his Majesty pretended, in that case, to have in the preface; and finding it necessary by our commission, that two of us should be present at the act, you desire to know both their intention upon it, and the time they are like to be ready, to the end you may give me notice early enough not to fail attending that service, according to the order you know I have received. They cannot, I suppose, make any scruple to give you a clear and plain answer to such a reasonable question; and thereupon your Lordship's measures and mine will be easily taken: for your Lordship, I know, will not fail of giving me advice by the first, and I shall not, God willing, fail of beginning my journey accordingly. In case any thing should happen to make them sign of the sudden, without warning to either of us, I suppose, if they desire we should have our parts in it, room may be left for the Mediators to sign afterwards;

since it is not a thing material, as to the force of the treaty between the parties. If they will understand it otherwise, I suppose it will be to avoid our signing, in the civilest manner they can. For, upon the whole, the judgment which is here made of this treaty, is, that neither of them like it: and though it is necessity alone which could have brought the Emperor to these terms; yet France is perfectly taken at their word, and is sensible enough of the advantages they are like to lose, in not pursuing the war with the Emperor, now Spain and this country are out of it. I am ever, &c.

P. S. I desire, what I say of Monsieur d'Avaux having told the Deputies this morning, may not be taken notice of, because it was given me by one of them in confidence.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord, Hague, Jan. 24, N. S. 1678.

I HAD the honour of one from your Lordship of the 7th, and deferred not, upon receipt thereof, to make that use of it here, which you intended; and was, indeed, in a manner, necessary for his Majesty's service and justification, as well as your Lordship's. I communicated the first part of it to some of the States who are in chief credit here, and to the Imperial and Spanish Ministers, who all took notice of those clauses in it, which shewed how great advantages might have been made by bargaining for any towns: how no conditions were proposed, but such as were approved by Spain and Holland; and how the thoughts of making any advantages of that itself, were entertained only at the persuasion of Mr. M——e. And in the several conversations I have had upon this subject here, I may assure your Lordship, all was done with the success you desired. For the Prince, who was

gone from Utrecht to Arnheim, about the time I received your Lordship's dispatch, I thought there could be no way so good of performing your commands towards his Highness, as by sending him the letter itself, by which he would best see how much you were concerned both in his good opinion, and his particular affair of the money due to him; which, I am sure, could not have been by me so well expressed, as in your words. You will, before this time, have been fully satisfied, by the letter I sent you inclosed, how much the Prince was concerned in your part of what lately happened in England; and how little reason you had to apprehend any change of his Highness's opinion in what concerned your Lordship upon that occasion: and, I know very well, he writ that letter with kinder intentions, than only of making you a compliment at that time. For the money, he never said one word of it to me in several conversations about these matters, farther than complaining of his own ill luck, since he was sure to have received it within four or five days, at the time when that trouble was given your Lordship there; which he reckoned upon as what must certainly delay it till some better settlement in his Majesty's affairs, and especially that of the revenue.

Having acquitted myself of the duty I owed your Lordship upon that first part of your letter; I find another I owe to his Majesty upon the latter; of which I despair of being able to acquit myself as I ought to do, or as the sense of so great a favour justly obliges me to. The distinction his Majesty is pleased to make between me and other men, both in esteeming me fit for the discharge of so great a trust, and in offering to be himself at the charge of Mr. Secretary Coventry's retiring out of it, is what, I am sure, I shall never live to forget, though I can never hope to deserve; and there-

fore must beg of your Lordship to assist me in making the heartiest and humblest acknowledgments to his Majesty, that any servant can make to the best master in the world. After this is done, I am very sorry that I must make so true and plain a confession of myself, as I am forced to do upon this occasion. If I found myself capable of doing his Majesty the service that would become me in such a post, I should esteem it the greatest, and indeed the only happiness that could befal me at this time, and in the poor remainders of my life. But the sensible decays I feel of late in myself, and which must increase every day with my age and ill health, make me absolutely despair of acquitting myself as I ought, and would be necessary for his Majesty's service, in a post that requires not only great abilities, but good health, and all the application that can be; neither of which I can either ways promise either his Majesty or myself. And I may pretend to be so honest a man, as never to make so ill a bargain for so good a master; which would be like selling him a horse very dear, that I knew to be old and restif, and not at all fit for the service he designed him. I beg your Lordship to represent this to his Majesty, not as an affected modesty, nor as a speaker's form of disabling himself when he is chosen. For your Lordship may please to remember, I writ the same thing to you six months ago: and Mr. Hyde knows very well the thoughts of this kind he both found and left me in at his last being here. The season I have since passed, in a place so unkind to my health, has given me a great deal of reason to continue them, and to think myself not at all fit to enter upon so great and laborious an employment, or even to continue this longer than the spring; beyond which time I can foresee little use his Majesty can have of me here. And whenever he shall please to end

it, I doubt not but he will give me leave to seek for a little better health in some warmer climate; and, I am sure, he shall never find a better subject, how useless a servant soever I may have been; and that none shall ever make more passionate wishes for his happiness and safety, than I shall do all the days of my life.

I cannot end this, without making your Lordship likewise my particular acknowledgments for your favour and good opinion, which I shall ever esteem among my best possessions. But having had the honour of your agreeing so often with me in what we have talked of, I cannot but be confident, that if you knew me as well as I do myself, you would be perfectly of my mind in this matter; as I should be of yours, if I found myself indeed what your Lordship is pleased to esteem me. That which I hope we both agree in, is, the belief that you can never meet with a greater and sincerer passion, than that wherewith I have been so long, and shall be, yours, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Sir, Rhenen, Feb. 6, N. S. 1678-9.

Upon this day se'nnight I received at the Hague an express from Sir Lionel Jenkins, pressing me to come away immediately to Nimeguen, upon the assurance he then had the treaty would be signed there the next day, and that my presence would be necessary to make up a commission at that time. Whereupon, finding my orders express in that case, I parted the same day from the Hague, and made a shift to get to Nimeguen the next, being Tuesday at night. The Thursday following I went to the Prince of Orange at Arnheim, upon a letter from his Highness, and returned so late that night as to have no part in the dispatch by that ordinary,

which was the second I have missed since my last to you from the Hague. I communicated to his Highness the orders I received by yours of the 14th past, which came to me the day after my arrival at Nimeguen. He was very ready to perform the part his Majesty expected from him upon that occasion; but said, I knew very well he had never been able to hinder libels and pasquins from being printed here against himself, and so could not assure me of hindering them against his Majesty; but that he would endeavour it, and hoped he might be able to do it at Utrecht, but advised me to address myself to the Magistrates of Amsterdam, where he could not undertake for it. He took occasion to tell me, that the Pensioner of Amsterdam had been with him the day before, upon the election of the Schepers for this year: that falling into the discourse of the affairs of England, he had told him, that the general report and belief at Amsterdam was, that the great preparations made by France in their sea-ports were to make the King master of his Parliament; and that was the reason we took no notice of them in England. I took this for a libel spread here by the same hands from which you expected they should be sent and printed to be spread in England; but the Prince said, he had reason to believe it was given out by the French, to damp all hopes that this State might have of any support from England; and that he had received two letters upon the same subject from Amsterdam, before the Pensioner of that town had told him of it.

I shall not need tell you of the peace having been signed last night, about ten of the clock, between the Emperor and France, and agreed to be so this day between the Imperialists and Swedes: you will know the whole course of that affair, with all circumstances, by an express this day from my col-

league, and how unnecessary a journey I have made in the worst season that I ever felt, and upon pure obedience to the orders you sent me: for I had no reason to think the Imperialists would yield a point they had ever contested; and, therefore, I had desired my colleague to inform himself of it before he sent for me. It is now past, and I have only reason to be satisfied, that all was agreed to by the parties which you seemed to desire for his Majesty's honour in the preface, as well as for his inclusion in the treaty. This morning I left Nimeguen, and thought to have reached Utrecht this night; but the ways are almost impassable for a coach, by the great drifts of snow; so that all I can hope for, is, to be there to-morrow night. From thence, I resolve to go to Amsterdam, and speak with the Magistrates in both places, about searching and preventing what you apprehend from those presses: and because I am not like to be in Holland time enough for next ordinary, I dispatch this away to Utrecht by express, in hopes it may get time enough to the Hague, to go away with the ordinary to-morrow night, that so you might know something of my motions, as well as of my late omissions, which have been occasioned by them. I am ever, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord, Hague, February 21, N. S. 1678-9.

HAVING since my last had several occasions of discoursing with the Prince upon the subject of your Lordship's last letter, and the account you were pleased to give there both of his Majesty's conduct and your own, in those negotiations which were so much talked on of late; his Highness was very full in his expressions of justifying your Lordship upon having done nothing but with his Majesty's order, even in writing; and could not talk of Mr. M——'s

part in it, without the greatest indignation in the world. For the thing itself, he would say little, but that it was past, and so it was to no purpose to talk of it: that nobody had any thing left to do since the peace, but to play an ill game the best they could, and so he resolved to do here: but nothing he could now do would signify much towards the common safety, unless England could grow into a posture of being more united at home, and more considered abroad, than they seemed likely to be by the present course of our affairs; which he ever talks of with great concernment. Since the commission I received to go again to Nimeguen, to continue there the figure of his Majesty's mediation, upon the recalling of Sir Lionel Jenkins, he was very inquisitive into the reason of it; which I could not give him; having received barely a commission to act alone in that function, and three lines only from Mr. Secretary Williamson, to tell me, he had sent it by his Majesty's order. All we could guess, was the design of sparing so much money, by ending Mr. Hyde's and Sir Lionel's embassy, now the peace was so near concluded, and continuing mine only for the decency of the mediation till the Assembly should break up. And the Prince said upon it, that he hoped, however, the King might make some good use of it; and since the peace of the North would certainly be made, now the Emperor's was so, he thought it would be very much better, that his Majesty should make it, than France, especially that between Brandenburgh and Sweden; and thereby endeavour to draw some dependence of those two Princes upon himself after the peace, which, he doubted, would otherwise fall on France: he said besides, that he would think of this matter within two or three days, and tell me, if not write into England, what should occur to him upon it, before

I went to Nimeguen: and that the sooner the peace of the North was now made, the better; that France might thereby have no longer a pretext of keeping the seven towns in Cologn, Juliers, and Liege; whereby they are posted so, as to awe this country and Flanders, and to be ready for any new design upon them.

In this conference, and one before, his Highness desired me to write to your Lordship, and put you in mind of his money; concerning which you had expressed so great concernment in your last to me. His Highness said, he did not doubt but this sum might be easily advanced upon that act which provided for it, in case the whole security were not engaged some other ways, which he hoped your Lordship has had the kindness and justice to prevent.

In the midst of your Lordship's great affairs, I know very well I ought to give you as few and as short troubles as I can; and therefore shall not lengthen this beyond the assurances of my being ever, my Lord, your, &c.

To the Earl of Sunderland.

My Lord, Hague, Feb. 28, N. S. 1678-9.

On Saturday last, I received the honour of one from your Lordship of the 11th, and this morning another of the 14th; both of them bringing me his Majesty's command for my immediate return; and the last, a letter of revocation to the States General. I have this afternoon communicated both to the Prince, who finding me pressed to make so much diligence in my journey, has made it formally his desire to me, that I will go away without taking notice here of my absolute revocation, or thereupon any formal leave of the States, which, he says, may be done as soon as I am there, if his Ma-

jesty pleases; and about the time my Lord Ambassador Jenkins shall arrive here. His Highness takes this to be a point so important to his Majesty's service, and to his own interests here at this time, which, he says, are the same with his Majesty's, that he is sure (as he is pleased to say) the King will give him leave to govern such a circumstance as this is; and therefore says he will take it upon himself; and his Majesty will know the reasons when I have the honour to attend him. I confess, I could see no prejudice in this to his Majesty, nor to any, unless myself (on the account of the usual presents upon a revocation): I therefore consented to it; and shall thereupon be ready, I hope, to embark to-morrow or next day, if wind and weather suffer me. Though the Prince had not desired this way of parting, I have another reason would of necessity have engaged me to it; which is, my being so much indebted here, by not having received my money since my coming over in July last, that it would have been impossible for me to have carried my goods and family away from hence, without attending the necessary dispatches from the Exchequer; which, I doubt, by the style of both your Lordship's letters, pressing me to so much haste in my journey, would not have passed with his Majesty for a good excuse of my not coming away.

The common occurrences will be transmitted to your Lordship by Mr. Meredith, as has been usual: so that, after having very heartily given your Lordship joy upon your entrance into an employment of so great weight and consequence to his Majesty's service, with my true wishes of all the satisfaction that can be from it, both to his Majesty and yourself, I shall end with the professions of my being ever, &c.

The private Letter of the same Date to the Earl of S————d.

I MUST leave it to time to tell you, whether your letter as Secretary of State, and acquainting me with his Majesty's having sent for me over to enter upon the same post, were as welcome to me, as I am sure it was surprising, after my preparations and thoughts had been turned for a week together to Nimeguen. But I cannot forbear assuring you, in the mean time, that nothing could be welcomer than a short one I received with it from my Lord Sunderland; by which I found he was pleased with the new employment, and not unsatisfied with the prospect of our affairs. I take your Lordship to be so good and universal a judge, that I cannot easily believe you should be deceived in what concerns either the public or yourself; and therefore cannot choose but raise from it good presages to both: otherwise, I confess I see nothing to change my opinion of public affairs, or my resolutions as to my own part in them; though I find my friends have so different thoughts of both. I wish I may find any thing to undeceive me when I come over. In the mean time, I should be infinitely glad to contribute more than my wishes towards the ends you seem to propose yourselves. And if I could think myself capable of doing it, neither the King nor your Lordship would find a truer servant. In the mean time I will only say, that among all you have, there is none can take more part in all that concerns your Lordship, nor that can be more unfeignedly than I am, my Lord, your, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord, Hague, Feb. 28th, N. S. 1678-9.

I RECEIVED last Saturday the honour of one from your Lordship of the 11th; which, I confess, surprised me more than any I ever had from you; coming not only after my orders and preparations for Nimeguen, but after my wife had told me from your Lordship how all that affair had passed; and after I had written to her how infinitely sensible I was of the obligations I had to your Lordship in the whole course of it, and how perfectly I was satisfied as to myself with the ply it had taken. Time alone must tell, if either his Majesty or I have reason to be satisfied with the change he has since made in that measure, which will depend upon the success of it, and of my being of the use designed in so great a post towards those public ends, that I am confident your Lordship aims at in it, and which none can answer for. I wish to God I could deserve half the honour his Majesty does me by his good opinion, for I never can the kindness of your intention (whatever may happen), though no man can be more sensible than I am of it. For the rest, I shall not trouble your Lordship farther with any discourses upon that subject, being like to have the honour of waiting on you so soon: for I hope, God willing, to go a-board the yacht to-morrow or Wednesday, if wind and weather suffer me; and with your Lordship's good leave, shall make my first step into the Cockpit, where you will then find, I am sure, a most humble servant.

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Printed by S. Hamilton, Weybridge.

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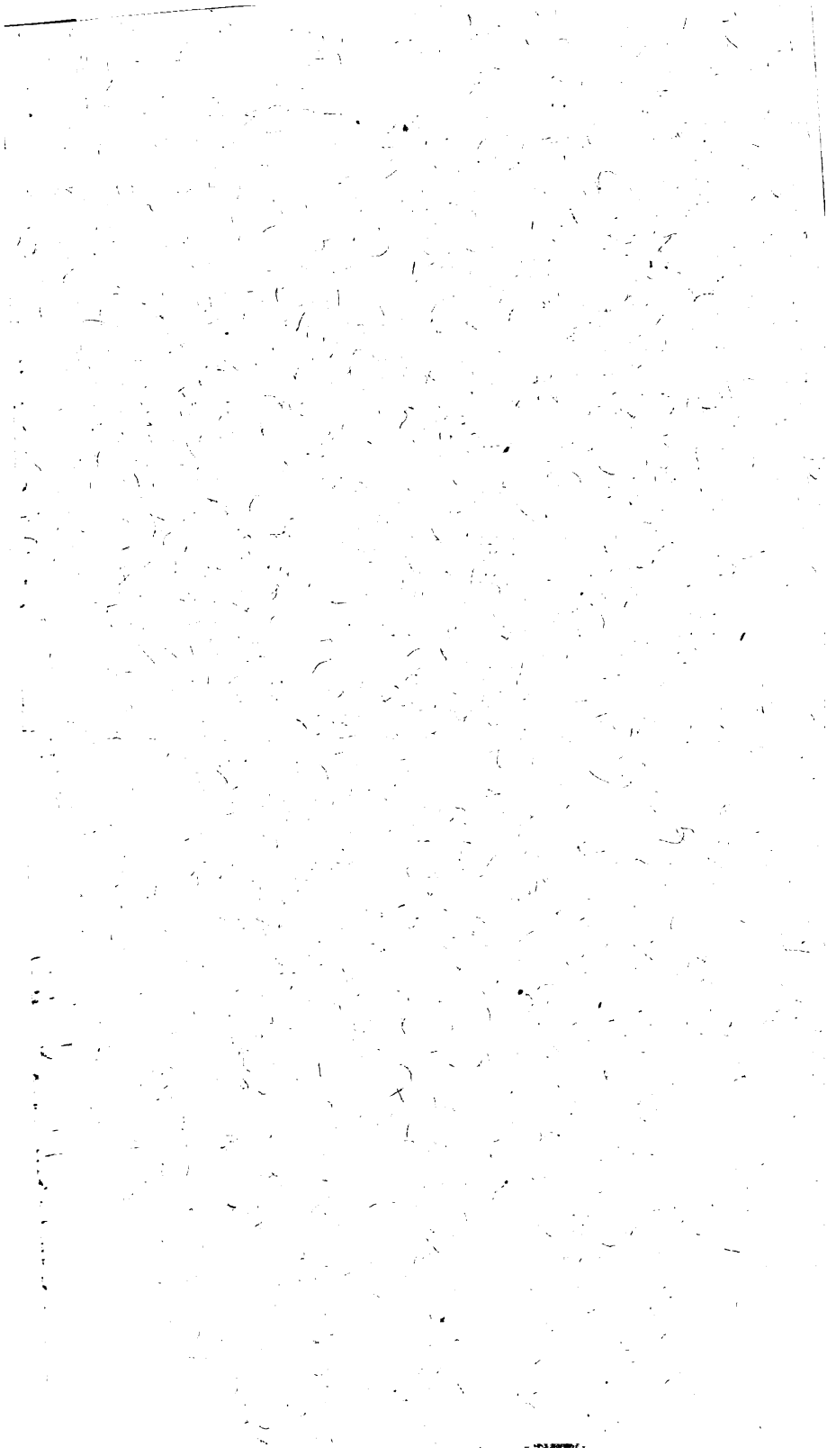

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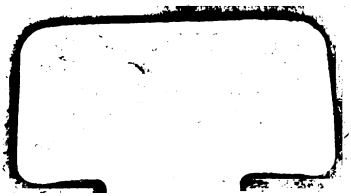
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